

FRENCH *and* INDIAN Cruelty ;
180
Exemplified in the
L I F E
And various Vicissitudes of FORTUNE, of
PETER WILLIAMSON,

CONTAINING,

A particular Account of the *Manners, Customs, and Dress*, of the SAVAGES ; of their *scalping, burning*, and other *Barbarities*, committed on the ENGLISH in NORTH AMERICA, during his Residence among them : Being at eight Years of Age *stolen* from his *Parents*, and sent to PENNSYLVANIA, where he was sold as a SLAVE : Afterwards married and settled as a *Planter*, till the *Indians* destroyed his House, and every Thing he had, and carried him off a *Captive* ; from whom, after several months captivity, he made his *Escape*, and served as a *Volunteer* and *Soldier* in many Expeditions against them.

COMPREHENDING IN THE WHOLE,

A SUMMARY of the Transactions of the several Provinces of PENNSYLVANIA, NEW-YORK, NEW-ENGLAND, NEW-JERSEY, &c. From the Commencement of the War in these Parts ; particularly, those relative to the *intended* Attack on CROWN POINT and NIAGARA.

And an accurate and succinct Detail of the Operations of the FRENCH and ENGLISH Forces at the Siege of OSWEGO, where the AUTHOR was wounded and taken Prisoner ; and being afterwards sent to ENGLAND, was, on his Arrival at *Plymouth*, discharged as *incapable* of FURTHER Service.

Also, A curious Discourse on KIDNAPPING ; with proper Directions for Tradesmen and others, to avoid Slavery, when transported from their native country.

Together with a Description of the most convenient Roads for the *British* Forces to invade *Canada* in three Divisions, and make themselves Masters of it the next Campaign, 1759.

Dedicated to the Rt. Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Esq;

Written by H I M S E L F.

The Third EDITION, with considerable Improvements.

G L A S G O W :

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For the Benefit of the UNFORTUNATE AUTHOR. 1758.
[Price One Shilling]

W. Musgrave.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT, Esq;

One of his MAJESTY'S principal Secretaries of State.

SIR,

ALTHO' it may appear a great degree of boldness in me, to attempt the placing this short account of my LIFE under your Patronage, by affixing your name thereto; yet, however obscure the author may be, the subject handled may not altogether be unworthy of your notice. Herein is exhibited, in a concise manner, a scene of many barbarities, and unheard of cruelties, exercised by the savage *Indians*, instigated by the treacherous *French*, in *America*, upon many innocent families, sparing neither the aged, nor the most tender infants. These relations, Sir, are genuine; many of them I was an eye-witness to, and some of them I was the subject of. The station you are placed in, the integrity of your views, the depth of your penetration in projecting schemes to distress the common foe, and your unwearied diligence
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in the execution thereof, in support of our rights and privileges as men and Christians, have justly rendered you famous, and made me desirous of appearing cloathed with your protection.

May the great God, who over-rules all events, bless you in your undertakings, and grant success to your honest, sincere and unwearied endeavours to save a sinking nation from ruin; and continue you long at the helm of affairs, for the good of these nations, is, and shall be, the earnest prayer of,

S I R,



Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

PETER WILLIAMSON.

Domestic strife, and party rage forego,
Collect your strength, and urge it on the foe.
See! PENNSYLVANIA bleeds in ev'ry vein,
Her houses ravag'd, and her children slain!
Hear her to arms her parent country call,
Lest both should perish in one common fall.
Rouse, Britons, rouse from sloth and dull delays:
Be what you were in ANNE's and EDWARD's days!



FRENCH and INDIAN CRUELTY.

THE reader is not here to expect a large and useless detail of the transactions of late years, in that part of the world, where, ever since my infancy, it has been my misfortune to have lived. Was it in my power indeed, to set off with pompous diction, and embellish with artificial descriptions, what has so ingrossed the attention of *Europe*, as well as the scenes of action for some years past, perhaps I might; but, my poor pen, being wholly unfit for such a task, and never otherwise employed than just for my own affairs and amusement, while I had the pleasure of living tranquil and undisturbed; I must beg leave to desist from such an attempt; and if such is expected from me, claim the indulgence of that pardon which is never refused to those incapacitated of performing what may be desired of them. And, as a plain, impartial, and succinct narrative of my own life and various vicissitudes of fortune, is all I shall aim at, I shall herein confine myself to plain simple truth, and, in the dictates, resulting from an honest heart, give the reader no other entertainment than what shall be matter of fact; and of such things as have actually happened to me, or come to my own knowledge, in the sphere of life, in which it has been my lot to be placed. Not, but I hope I may be allowed, now and then, to carry on my narrative from the

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informations I have received of such things as relate to my design, though they have not been done or transacted in my presence.

It being usual in narratives like this, to give a short account of the author's birth, education, and juvenile exploits, the same being looked upon as a necessary, or at least satisfactory piece of information to the curious and inquisitive reader; I shall, without boasting of a family I am no way intitled to, or recounting adventures in my youth, to which I was entirely a stranger, in a short manner, will gratify such curiosity; not expecting, as I said before, to be admired for that elegance of stile and profusion of words, so universally made use of in details and histories of those adventurers, who have of late years obliged the world with their anecdotes and memoirs; and which have had scarce any other existence than in the brains of a bookseller's or printer's *Garretteer*; who, from fewer incidents, and less surprising matter than will be found in this short narrative, have been, and are daily enabled, to spin and work out their elaborate performances to three or four volumes. That I, like them, publish this for support, is true, but as I am too sensible, the major part of mankind will give much more to a bookseller, to be in the fashion, or satisfy their curiosity, in having or reading a new puffed-off history or novel, than to a real object of distress, for an accurate and faithful account of a series of misfortunes, I have thought it more advisable to confine myself as to size and price, than by making a larger volume, miss that assistance and relief, of which I at present am in so great need.

Know, therefore, that I was born in *Hirnlay*, in the parish of *Aboyne* and county of *Aberdeen, North-Britain*; if not of rich, yet of reputable parents, who supported me in the best manner they could, as long

as they had the happiness of having me under their inspection; but fatally for me, and to their great grief, as it afterwards proved, I was sent to live with an aunt at *Aberdeen*, where, at eight years of age, playing on the key, with others of my companions, being of a stout robust constitution, I was taken notice of by two fellows belonging to a vessel in the harbour, employed (as the trade then was) by some of the *worthy* merchants of the town, in that villainous and execrable practice, called *kidnapping*; that is, stealing young children from their parents and selling them as slaves in the plantations abroad. Being marked out by those monsters of impiety as their prey, I was easily cajoled on board the ship by them, where I was no sooner got, than they conducted me between the decks, to some others they had kidnapped in the same manner. At that time, I had no sense of the fate that was destined for me, and spent the time in childish amusements with my fellow sufferers in the steerage, being never suffered to go upon deck whilst the vessel lay in the harbour; which was 'till such a time as they had got in their loading, with a complement of unhappy youths for carrying on their wicked commerce.

In about a month's time the ship set sail for *America*. The treatment we met with, and the trifling incidents which happened during the voyage, I hope I may be excused from relating, as not being, at that time, of an age sufficient to remark any thing more than what must occur to every one on such an occasion. However, I cannot forget, that when we arrived on the coast, we were destined for, a hard gale of wind sprung up from the S. E. and to the captain's great surprize, (he not thinking he was near land) although having been eleven weeks on the passage; about 12 o'clock at night the ship struck on a sand-bank, of *Cape May*, near the capes of *De-la-ware*, and to the great terror and affright

of the ship's company, in a small time, was almost full of water. The boat was then hoisted out, into which the captain, and his fellow villains, the crew, got with some difficulty, leaving me and my deluded companions to perish; as they then naturally concluded inevitable death to be our fate. Often in my distresses and miseries since, have I wished that such had been the consequence, when in a state of innocence! but providence thought proper to reserve me for future trials of its goodness. Thus abandoned and deserted, without the least prospect of relief, but threatened every moment with death, did these villains leave us. The cries, the shrieks and tears of a parcel of infants, had no effect on, or caused the least remorse, in the breasts of these merciless wretches. Scarce can I say, to which to give the preference; whether, to such as these, who have had the opportunity of knowing the Christian religion, or to the savages herein after described, who profane not the gospel, or boast of humanity; and, if they act in a more brutal and butcherly manner, yet 'tis to their enemies, for the sake of plunder and the rewards offered them; for their principles are alike; the love of sordid gain being both their motives. The ship being on a sand-bank, which did not give way to let her deeper, we lay in the same deplorable condition 'till morning; when, though we saw the land of *Cape May*, at about a mile's distance, we knew not what would be our fate.

The wind at length abated, and the captain (unwilling to lose all her cargo) about 10 o'clock, sent some of his crew in a boat to the ship's side to bring us on shore, where we lay, in a sort of a camp, made of the sails of the vessel, and such other things as they could get. The provisions lasted us until we were taken in by a vessel bound to *Philadelphia*; lying on this island, as well as I can recollect, near three weeks. Very little

tle of the cargo was saved undamaged, and the vessel intirely lost.

When arrived and landed at *Philadelphia*, the capital of *Pensylvania*, the captain had soon people enough who came to buy us. He making the most of his villainous loading, after his disaster, sold us at about 16*l.* per head. What became of my unhappy companions, I never knew; but it was my lot to be sold to one of my countrymen, whose name was *Hugh Wilson*, a *North-Britain*, for the term of seven years, who had in his youth undergone the same fate as myself; having been kidnapped from *St. Johnstoun* in *Scotland*. As I shall often have occasion to mention *Philadelphia* during the course of my adventures, I shall in this place give a short and concise description of the finest city in *America*, and one of the best laid out in the world.

This city would have been a capital fit for an empire, had it been built and inhabited according to the proprietor's plan. Considering its late foundation, 'tis a large city, and most commodiously situated between *De-la-ware* and *Schuytkill*, two navigable rivers. The former being two miles broad, and navigable 300 miles for small vessels. It extends in length two miles from one river to the other. There are eight long streets two miles in length, cut at right angles by sixteen others, of one mile in length, all strait and spacious. The houses are stately, very numerous, (being near 3000) and still increasing, and all carried on regularly according to the first plan. It has two fronts on the water, one on the east-side facing the *Schuytkill*, and that on the west facing the *De-la ware*. The *Schuytkill* being navigable 800 miles above the falls, the eastern part is most populous, where the ware-houses, some three stories high, and wharfs are numerous and convenient. All the houses have large orchards and gardens belonging to them. The merchants that reside here are numerous
and

and wealthy, many of them keeping their coaches &c. In the centre of the city there is a space of ten acres, whereon are built the state-house, market-house, and school-house. The former is built of brick, and has a prison under it. The streets have their names from the several sorts of timber common in *Pensylvania*; as *Mulberry-street*, *Sassafras-street*, *Chestnut-street*, *Beach-street*, and *Cedar-street*. The oldest church is *Christ's Church*, and has a numerous congregation; but the major part of the inhabitants, being at first Quakers, still continue so, who have several *Meeting-houses*, and may not improperly be called the church, as by law establish'd, being the originals. The key is beautiful, and 200 feet square, to which a ship of 200 tons may lay her broad side. As the advantages this city may boast of, has rendered it one of the best trading towns out of the *British* empire; so in all probability it will increase in commerce and riches, if not prevented by party faction, and religious feuds, which of late years have made it suffer considerably. The assemblies and courts of judicature are held here, as in all capitals. The *French* have no city like it in all *America*.

Happy was my lot in falling into my countryman's power, as he was, contrary to many others of his calling, a human, worthy, honest man. Having no children of his own, and commiserating my unhappy condition, he took great care of me until I was fit for business; and about the 12th year of my age, set me about little trifles; in which state I continued until my 14th year, when I was more fit for harder work. During such my idle state, seeing my fellow servants often reading and writing, it incited in me an inclination to learn, which I intimated to my master, telling him, I should be very willing to serve a year longer than the contract, by which I was bound obliged me, if he would indulge me in going to school; this he readily agreed to, saying,
That

That winter would be the best time. It being then summer; I waited with impatience for the other season; but to make some progress in my design, I got a primmer, and learn'd as much from my fellow servants as I could. At school, where I went every winter for five years, I made a tolerable proficiency, and have ever since been improving myself at leisure hours. With this good master, I continued till I was seventeen years old, when he died, and as a reward for my faithful service, left me 200 *l.* currency, which was then about 120 *l.* sterling, his best horse, saddle, and all his wearing apparel.

Being now my own master, having money in my pocket, and all other necessaries, I employed myself in jobbing about the country, working for any that would employ me, for near seven years; when thinking I had money sufficient to follow some better way of life, I resolved to settle; but thought one step necessary thereto, was to be married; for which purpose, I applied to the daughter of a substantial planter, and found my suit was not unacceptable to her, or her father, so that matters were soon concluded upon, and we married. My father-in-law, in order to establish us in the world, in an easy, if not affluent manner, made me a deed of gift, of a tract of land, that lay (unhappily for me, as it has since proved) on the frontiers of the province of *Pennsylvania*, near the forks of *De-la-ware*, in *Berks* county, containing about 200 acres, 30 of which were well cleared, and fit for immediate use, whereon was a good house and barn. The place pleasing me well, I settled on it; and tho' it cost me the major part of my money, in buying stock, household furniture, and implements for out-door work; and happy as I was in a good wife, yet did my felicity last me not long: For about the year 1754. the *Indians*, in the *French* interest, who had for a long time before ravaged and destroyed other parts of *America* unmolested, I may very properly say, began now to be
very

very troublesome on the frontiers of our province, where they generally appeared in small skulking parties, with yellings, shoutings, and antic postures, instead of trumpets and drums; committing great devastations. The *Pensylvanians* little imagined at first, that the *Indians* guilty of such outrages and violences were some of those who pretended to be in the *English* interest; which alas! proved to be too true to many of us: For like the *French* in *Europe*, without regard to faith of treaties, they suddenly break out into furious rapid outrages and devastations, but soon retire precipitately, having no stores or provisions but what they meet with in their incursions; some indeed carry a bag with biscuit, or *Indian* corn therein, but not unless they have a long march to their destin'd place of action. And those *French*, who were sent to dispossess us in that part of the world, being indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving, and using all manner of ways and means to win the *Indians* to their interest, many of whom had been too negligent, and sometimes, I may say, cruelly treated by those who pretended to be their protectors and friends, found it no very difficult matter to get over to their interest, many who belonged to those nations in amity with us: Especially as the rewards they gave them were so great; they paying for every scalp of an *English* person 15 *l.* sterling.

Terrible and shocking to human nature, were the barbarities daily committed by the savages, and are not to be parallel'd in all the volumes of history! Scarce did a day pass but some unhappy family or other fell victims to *French Chicanery*, and savage cruelty. Terrible, indeed! it proved to me, as well as to many others; I that was now happy in an easy state of life, blessed with an affectionate and tender wife, who was possessed of all amiable qualities, to enable me to go through this world with that peace and serenity of mind, which every Christian wishes

wishes to possess, became on a sudden one of the most unhappy, and deplorable of mankind; scarce can I sustain the shock which for ever recoils on me, at thinking on last time of seeing that good woman; the fatal 2d of *October*, 1754; she that day went from home to visit some of her relations, as I staid up later than usual, expecting her return, none being in the house besides myself, how great was my surprize, terror, and affright, when about 11 o'clock at night, I heard the dismal war-cry, or war-whoop of the savages, which they make on such occasions, and may be express'd, *Woach, woach, ha, ha, bach, woach*, and to my inexpressible grief, soon found my house was attack'd by them; I flew to the chamber-window, and perceived them to be twelve in number. They making several attempts to come in, I asked them what they wanted? They gave me no answer, but continued beating, and trying to get the door open. Judge then the condition I must be in, knowing the cruelty, and merciless disposition of those savages, should I fall into their hands. To escape which dreadful misfortune, having my gun loaded in my hand, I threaten'd them with death, if they should not desist. But how vain and fruitless are the efforts of one man, against the united force of so many! and of such merciless, undaunted and blood-thirsty monsters, as I had here to deal with. One of them that could speak a little *English*, threatened me in return, "That if I did not come out, they would burn me alive in the house." Telling me farther, what I unhappily perceived; "That they were no friends to the *English*, but if I would come out and surrender myself prisoner, they would not kill me." My terror and distraction at hearing this is not to be expressed by words, nor easily imagined by any person, unless in the same condition. Little could I depend on the promises of such creatures; and yet, if I did not, inevitable death, by being burnt alive

live must be my lot. Distracted as I was, in such deplorable circumstances, I chose to rely on the uncertainty of their fallacious promises, rather than meet with certain death, by rejecting them; and accordingly went out of my house, with my gun in my hand, not knowing what I did, or that I had it. Immediately on my approach they rushed on me, like so many tygers, and instantly disarmed me. Having me thus in their power, the merciless villains bound me to a tree near the door; they then went into the house and plundered and destroyed every thing there was in it, carrying off what moveables they could; the rest, together with the house, which they set fire to, was consumed before my eyes. The Barbarians not satisfied with this, set fire to my barn, stable, and out-houses, wherein were about 200 bushels of wheat, six cows, four horses, and five sheep, which underwent the same fate, being all intirely consumed to ashes. During the conflagration, to describe the thoughts, the fears, and misery that I felt, is utterly impossible, as 'tis even now to mention what I feel at the remembrance thereof.

Having thus finished the execrable business, about which they came, one of the monsters came to me with a *Tomahawk** in his hand, threatening me with the worst of deaths, if I would not willingly go with them, and be contented with their way of living. This I seemingly agreed to, promising to do every thing for them that lay in my power; trusting to providence for the time when I might be delivered out of their hands. Upon this they untied me, and gave me a great load to carry on
my

* A *Tomahawk*, is a kind of hatchet, made something like our Plasterer's hammers, about two feet long, handle and all. To take up the hatchet (or *Tomahawk*) among them, is to declare war. They generally use it after firing their guns, by rushing on their enemies, and fracturing or cleaving their skulls with it, and very seldom fail of killing at the first blow.

my back, under which I travelled all that night with them, full of the most terrible apprehensions, and oppress'd with the greatest anxiety of mind, lest my unhappy wife should likewise have fallen a prey to these cruel monsters. At day-break, my infernal master ordered me to lay down my load, when tying my hands again round a tree with a small cord, they forced the blood out of my fingers ends. They then kindled a fire near the tree whereto I was bound, which fill'd me with the most dreadful agonies concluding I was going to be made a sacrifice to their barbarity.

This narrative, O reader! may seem dry and tedious to you: My miseries and misfortunes, great as they have been, may be consider'd only as what others have daily met with for years past; yet, on reflection, you can't help indulging me in the recital of them: For to the unfortunate and distress'd, recounting our miseries, is, in some sort, an alleviation of them.

Permit me therefore to proceed; not by recounting to you the deplorable condition I then was in, for that is more than can be described to you, by one who thought of nothing less than being immediately put to death in the most excruciating manner these devils could invent. The fire being thus made, they for some time danced round me after their manner, with various odd motions and antic^e gestures, whooping, hollowing, and crying, in a frightful manner, as it is their custom. Having satisfied themselves in this sort of their mirth, they proceeded in a more tragical manner; taking the burning coals and sticks, flaming with fire at the ends, holding them near my face, head, hands, and feet, with a deal of monstrous pleasure and satisfaction; and at the same time threatening to burn me intirely, if I made the least noise or cried out: This tortured as I was, almost to death, I suffered their brutal pleasure without being allowed to vent my inexpressible anguish otherwise

than by shedding silent tears; even which, when these inhuman tormentors observed, with a shocking pleasure and alacrity, they would take fresh coals, and apply near my eyes, telling me my face was wet, and that they would dry it for me, which indeed they cruelly did. How I underwent these tortures I have here faintly described, has been matter of wonder to me many times; but God enabled me to wait with more than common patience for a deliverance I daily prayed for.

Having at length satisfied their brutal pleasure, they sat down round the fire, and roasted their meat, of which they had robbed my dwelling. When they had prepared it, and satisfied their voracious appetites, they offered some to me; though it is easily imagined I had but little appetite to eat, after the tortures and miseries I had undergone; yet, was I forced to seem pleased with what they offered me, lest by refusing it, they had again reassumed their hellish practices. What I could not eat, I contrived to get between the bark and the tree, where I was fixed, they having unbound my hands till they imagined I had eat all they gave me; but, then, they again bound me as before; in which deplorable condition was I forced to continue all that day. When the sun was set, they put out the fire, and covered the ashes with leaves, as is their usual custom, that the white people might not discover any traces or signs of their having been there.

Thus had these barbarous wretches finished their first diabolical piece of work; and shocking as it may seem to the humane *English* heart, yet what I underwent, was but trifling, in comparison to the torments and miseries which I was afterwards an eye-witness of being inflicted on others of my unhappy-fellow creatures.

Going from thence along by the river *Susquehanna* for the space of six miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a spot near the *Apalachian* mountains, or *Blue-Hills*,

Hills, where they hid their plunder under logs of wood.---And, oh, shocking to relate! from thence did these hellish monsters proceed to a neighbouring house, occupied by one *Jacob Snider*, and his unhappy family, consisting of his wife, five children, and a young man, his servant. They soon got admittance into the unfortunate man's house, where they immediately without the least remorse, and with more than butal cruelty, *scalped* * the tender parents and the unhappy children: Nor could the tears, the shrieks, or cries of these unhappy victims prevent their horrid massacre: For having thus scalped them, and plundered the house of every thing that was moveable, they set fire to the same, where the poor creatures met their final doom amidst the flames, the hellish miscreants standing at the door, or as near the house as the flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical manner, the piercing cries, heart-rending groans, and paternal and affectionate soothing, which issued from this most horrid sacrifice of an innocent family. Sacrifice! I think I may properly call it, to the agrandizing the ambition of a king, who wrongly stiles himself *Most Christian*. For, had these savages been never tempted with the alluring bait of all-powerful gold, myself as well as hundreds of others, might still have lived most happily in our stations. If Christians countenance, nay, hire those wretches, to
live

* Scalping, is taking off the skin from the top of the head; which they perform with a long knife that they hang round their neck, and always carry with them. They cut the skin round as much of the head as they think proper, sometimes quite round from the neck and forehead, then take it in their fingers and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy creatures so served to die in a most miserable manner. Some who are not cut too deep in the temples or scull live in horrid torments many hours, and sometimes a day or two after. The scalps, or skins thus taken off, they preserve and carry home in triumph, where they receive, as is said before, a considerable sum for every one.

live in a continual repetition of plunder, rapine, murder, and conflagration, in vain, are missionaries sent, or sums expended for the propagation of the gospel. But, these sentiments, with many others, must before the end of this narrative occur to every humane heart.----- Therefore to proceed; Not contented with what these infernals had already done, they still continued their inordinate villainy, in making a general conflagration of the barn and stables, together, with all the corn, horses, cows, and every thing on the place.

Thinking the young man belonging to this unhappy family, would be of some service to them, in carrying part of their hellish-acquired plunder, they spared his life, and loaded him and myself with what they had here got, and again marched to the *Blue-Hills* where they stowed their goods as before. My fellow-sufferer could not long bear the cruel treatment which we were both obliged to suffer, and complaining bitterly to me, of his being unable to proceed any farther, I endeavoured to console him, as much as lay in my power, to bear up under his afflictions and wait with patience, 'till by the divine assistance, we should be delivered out of their clutches; but all in vain, for he still continued his moans and tears, which one of the savages perceiving, as we travelled on, instantly came up to us, and with his *tomahawk*, gave him a blow on the head, which felled the unhappy youth to the ground, where they immediately *scalped* and left him. The suddenness of this murder, shocked me to that degree, that I was in a manner like a statue, being quite motionless, expecting my fate would soon be the same: However, recovering my distracted thoughts, I dissembled the uneasiness and anguish which I felt as well as I could from the Barbarians; but still, such was the terror I was under, that for some time I scarce knew the days of the week, or what I did; so that at this period, life did, indeed become

come a burthen to me, and I regretted my being saved from my first persecutors, the sailors.

The horrid fact being compleated, they kept on their course near the mountains, where they lay skulking four or five days, rejoicing at the plunder and store they had got. When provisions became scarce, they made their way towards *Susquehanna*; where, still to add to the many barbarities they had already committed, passing near another house, inhabited by an unhappy old man, whose name was *John Adams*, with his wife and four small children; and meeting with no resistance, they immediately *scalped* the unhappy wife and her four children, before the good old man's eyes. Inhuman and horrid as this was! it did not satiate them; for when they had murdered the poor woman, they acted with her in such a brutal manner, as decency, or the remembrance of the crime, will not permit me to mention; and this even, before the unhappy husband; who, not being able to avoid the sight, and incapable of affording her the least relief, intreated them to put an end to his miserable being; but they were as deaf, and regardless to the tears, prayers, and intreaties of this venerable sufferer, as they had been to those of the others, and proceeded in their hellish purpose of burning and destroying his house, barn, corn, hay, cattle, and every thing the poor man a few hours before was master of. Having saved what they thought proper from the flames, they gave the old man, feeble, weak, and in the miserable condition he then was, as well as myself, burthens to carry, and loading themselves likewise with bread and meat, pursued their journey on towards the *Great Swamp*; where being arrived, they lay for eight or nine days, sometimes diverting themselves, in exercising the most atrocious and barbarous cruelties on their unhappy victim, the old man: sometimes they would strip him naked, and paint him all over with various sorts of colours, which they
extracted,

extracted, or made from herbs and roots: at other times they would pluck the white hairs from his venerable head, and tauntingly tell him, *He was a fool for living so long, and that they should shew him kindness in putting him out of the world*: to all which, the poor creature could not vent his sighs, his tears, his moans, and intreaties, that to my affrighted imagination, were enough to penetrate a heart of adamant, and soften the most obdurate savage. In vain, alas! were all his tears, for daily did they tire themselves with the various means they tried to torment him; sometimes tying him to a tree, and whipping him, at others, scorching his furrowed cheeks, with red-hot coals, and burning his legs, quite to the knees: but the good old man instead of repining, or wickedly arraigning the divine justice, like many others, in such cases; even in the greatest agonies, incessantly offered up his prayers to the Almighty, with the most fervent thanksgivings for his former mercies, and hoping the flames, then surrounding and burning his aged limbs, would soon send him to the blissful mansions of the just, to be a partaker of the blessings there. And, during such his pious ejaculations, his infernal plagues would come round him, mimicking his heart-rending groans, and piteous wailings. One night after he had been thus tormented, whilst he and I were sitting together, condoling each other at the misfortunes and miseries we daily suffered, twenty-five other *Indians* arrived, bringing with them twenty scalps and three prisoners who had unhappily fallen into their hands in *Cannocojigge*, a small town near the river *Susquehanna*, chiefly inhabited by the *Irisb*. These prisoners gave us some shocking accounts of the murders and devastations committed in their parts. The various and complicated actions of these Barbarians would intirely fill a large volume; but what I have already written, with a few other instances which I shall select from their information,

tion, will enable the reader to guess at the horrid treatment the *English*, and *Indians*, in their interest, have suffered for many years past. I shall therefore only mention in a brief manner those that suffered near the same time with myself. This party, who now joined us, had it not, I found, in their power, to begin their wickedness as soon as those who visited my habitation; the first of their tragedies being on the 25th day of *October*, 1754, when *John Lewis*, with his wife, and three small children, fell sacrifices to their cruelty, and were miserably *scalped* and murdered; his house, barn, and every thing he possessed, being burnt and destroyed. On the 28th, *Jacob Miller*, with his wife, and six of his family, together, with every thing on his plantation, underwent the same fate. The 30th, The house, mill, barn, twenty head of cattle, two teams of horses, and every thing belonging to the unhappy *George Folke*, met with the like treatment; himself, wife, and all his miserable family, consisting of nine in number, being inhumanly *scalped*, then cut in pieces, and given to the swine, which devoured them. I shall give another instance of the numberless and unheard-of barbarities they related of these savages, and proceed to their own tragical end. In short; one of the substantial traders, belonging to the province, having business that called him some miles up the country, fell into the hands of these devils, who not only *scalped* him, but immediately roasted him, before he was dead; then like *Canibals*, for want of other food, eat his whole body, and of his head, made what they called an *Indian* pudding.

From these few instances of savage cruelty, the deplorable situation of the defenceless inhabitants, and what they hourly suffer'd in that part of the globe, must strike the utmost horror to a human soul, and cause in every breast the utmost detestation, not only, against the authors of such tragic scenes, but against those, who thro'

perfidy, inattention, or pusillanimous and erroneous principles, suffered these savages at first, unrepell'd, or even unmolested, to commit such outrages and incredible depredations and murders. For no torments, no barbarities that can be exercised on the human sacrifices, they get into their power, are left untried or omitted.

The three prisoners that were brought with these additional forces, constantly repining at their lot, and almost dead with their excessive hard treatment, contrived at last to make their escape; but being far from their own settlements, and not knowing the country, were soon after met by some others of the tribes, or nations, at war with us, and brought back to their diabolical masters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal power. The poor creatures, almost famished for want of sustenance, having had none during the time of their elopment; were no sooner in the clutches of the barbarians, two of them were tied to a tree, and a great fire made round them, where they remain'd till they were terribly scorch'd and burnt; when one of the villains with his scalping knife, ript open their bellies, took out their intrails, and burnt them before their eyes, whilst the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the flesh from their breasts, hands, arms, and legs, with red-hot irons, 'till they were dead. The third unhappy victim, was reserved a few hours longer, to be, if possible, sacrificed in a more cruel manner; his arms were tied close to his body, and a hole being dug, deep enough for him to stand upright, he was put therein, and earth ram'd, and beat in, all round his body up to his neck, so that his head only appear'd above ground; they then scalp'd him, and there let him remain for three or four hours, in the greatest agonies; after which they made a small fire near his head, causing him to suffer the most excruciating torments imaginable; whilst the poor creature could only cry for mercy in killing him immediately,

ly, for his brains were boiling in his head: Inexorable to all his complaints, they continued the fire, whilst shocking to behold! his eyes gush'd out of their sockets; and such agonizing torments did the unhappy creature suffer for near two hours, 'till he was quite dead! They then cut off his head, and buried it with the other bodies; my task being to dig the graves, which feeble and terrified as I was, the dread of suffering the same fate, enabled me to do. I shall not here take up the readers time, in vainly attempting to describe what I felt on such an occasion, but continue my narrative, as more equal to my abilities.

A great snow now falling, the Barbarians were a little fearful, lest the white people should by their traces, find out their skulking retreats, which obliged them to make the best of their way to their winter-quarters, about 200 miles farther from any plantations or inhabitants; where, after a long and tedious journey, being almost starved, I arrived with this infernal crew. The place where we were to rest, in their tongue, is called *Alamingo*. There I found a number of *Wigwams* * full of their women and children. Dancing, singing, and shooting, were their general amusements; and in all their festivals and dances, they relate what successes they have had, and what damages they have sustained in their expeditions: In which I became part of their theme. The severity of the cold increasing, they stript me of my cloaths for their own use, and gave me such as they usually wore themselves, being a piece of blanket, a pair of *Mog-ganes*, or shoes, with a yard of coarse cloth, to put round me instead of breeches. To describe their dress and manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable

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* *Wigwams*, are the names they give their houses, which are no more than little huts, made, with three or four fork'd stakes drove into the ground, and cover'd with deer or other skins; or for want of them with large leaves and earth.

to some of my readers, but as the size of this book will not permit me to be so particular as I might otherwise be, I shall just observe,

That they in general, wear a white blanket, which in war-time they paint with various figures; but particularly the leaves of trees, in order to deceive their enemies when in the woods. Their *Mogganes* are made of deer-skins, and the best sort have them bound round the edges with little beads and ribbands. On their legs they wear pieces of blue cloth for stockings, something like our soldiers spatter-dashes; they reach higher than their knees, but not lower than their ankles; they esteem them easy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but instead thereof, two pieces of linen, one before, and another behind. The better sort have shirts of the finest linen they can get, and to those some wear ruffles; but these they never put on, till they have painted them of various colours, which they get from the *Pecone* root, and bark of trees, and never pull them off to wash, but wear them, till they fall in pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets; such as silver plates round their wrists and necks, with several strings of *Wampum* (which is made of cotton, interwove with pebbles, cockle-shells, &c.) down to their breasts; and from their ears and noses they have rings and beads, which hang dangling an inch or two. The men have no beards, to prevent which, they use certain instruments and tricks as soon as it begins to grow. The hair of their heads is managed differently, some pluck out and destroy all, except a lock hanging from the crown of the head, which they interweave with *Wampum* and feathers of various colours. The women wear it very long, twisted down their backs, with beads, feathers, and *Wampum*; and on their heads most of them wear little coronets of brass or copper; round their middle
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they wear a blanket instead of a petticoat. The females are very chaste, and constant to their husbands; and if any young maiden should happen to have a child before marriage, she is never esteemed afterwards. As for their food, they get it chiefly by hunting and shooting, and boil, broil, or roast all the meat they eat. Their standing-dish consists of *Indian* corn soak'd, then bruis'd and boil'd over a gentle fire, for ten or twelve hours. Their bread is likewise made of this, wild oats or sun-flower seeds. Set meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their gun, *Tomahawk*, scalping knife, powder and shot, are all they have to carry with them in time of war; bows and arrows being seldom used by them. They generally in war decline open engagements; bush-fighting or skulking is their discipline; and they are brave when engaged, having great fortitude in enduring tortures and death. No people have a greater love of liberty, or affection to their relations; but they are the most implacably vindictive people upon the earth, for they revenge the death of any relation, or great affront, whenever occasion presents, let the distance of time or place, be never so remote: To all which I may add, what the reader has already observed, that they are inhumanly cruel. But, some *other* nations might be more happy, if, in some instances, they copied them, and made *wise conduct, courage, and personal strength*, the chief recommendations for war-captains, or *Werowances*, as they call them. In times of peace, they visit the plantations inhabited by the Whites, to whom, they sell baskets, ladles, spoons, and other such trifles, which they are very expert in making. When night comes, if admitted into any house, they beg leave to ly down by the fire side, chusing that place rather than any other, which is seldom refused them, if sober, for then they are honest; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troublesome, if people enough are not in the house to quell them. Nor
would

would they at any time be guilty of such barbarous depredations as they are, did not those calling themselves Christians, intice them thereto with strong liquors, which they are vastly fond of; as well as by the pecuniary rewards which they give for the scalps. If ambition cannot be gratified, or superiority obtained, otherwise than by the deaths of thousands; would it not, in those who seek such airy phantoms, and are so inordinately fond of their fellow creatures lives, favour a little more of humanity to have them kill'd instantly, and, (if they must have proofs of murder) scalp'd afterwards? than by allowing and encouraging such merciless treatment, render themselves as obnoxious, cruel, and barbarous, to a human mind, as the very savages themselves. However, they sometimes suffer by their plots and chicanery laid for the destruction of others; it often happening that the traders or emissaries sent to allure them to the execution of their schemes, rightly fall victims themselves; for, as they always carry with them horse-loads of rum, which the *Indians* are fond of, they soon get drunk, quarrelsome, and wicked, and, in their fury, often kill and destroy their tempters. A just reward for their wicked designs! Nay, it has such an effect on them, that when so intoxicated, they even burn and consume all their own effects, beating, wounding, and sometimes killing their wives and children: But, in disputes among themselves, when sober, they are very tenacious of decorum, never allowing more than one to speak at a time. Profane swearing they know not in their own language how to express, but are very fond of the *French* and *English* oaths.

The old people, who are by age and infirmities rendered incapable of being serviceable to the community, they put out of the world in a barbarous and extraordinary manner; an instance of which, I had, whilst among them, an opportunity of seeing practised on an old *Indian*

an. He being, through age, feeble and weak, and his eyes failing him, so that he was unable to get his living either by hunting or shooting; he was summoned to appear before several of the leading-ones, who were to be his judges. Before whom being come, and having nothing to say for himself, (as how indeed could he prove himself to be young,) they very formally; and with a seeming decree of compassion, passed sentence on him to be put to death. This was soon after executed on him in the following manner: He was tied naked to a tree, and a boy who was to be his executioner, stood ready with a *tomahawk* in his hands, to beat his brains out: but when the young monster came to inflict the sentence, he was so short of stature that he could not lift the *tomahawk* high enough; upon which, he was held up by some others, a great concourse being present; and then, though the young devil laid on with all his strength, he was not for some time able to fracture the old man's scull, so that it was near an hour before he was dead. Thus are they from their youth inured to barbarity!

When they found no remains of life in him, they put him into a hole dug in the ground for that purpose, in which he stood upright. Into his left-hand they put an old gun, and hung a small powder horn and short-bag about his shoulders, and a string of wampum round his neck; and into his right-hand, a little silk purse with a bit of money in it; then filled the hole round, and covered him over with earth. This I found to be the usual manner of treating the old of both sexes; only that the women are killed by young girls, and put into the ground with nothing but a ladle in one hand, and a wooden dish in the other.

They are very strict in punishing offenders; especially such as commit crimes against any of the royal families. They never hang any; but those sentenced to death

death are generally bound to a stake, and a great fire made round them; but not so near as to burn them immediately, for they sometimes remain roasting in the middle of the flames for two or three days before they are dead.

After this long digression, it is time to return to the detail of my own affairs.---At *Alamingo* was I kept near two months, until the snow was off the ground. A long time to be amongst such creatures, and naked as I almost was! Whatever thoughts I might have of making my escape, to carry them into execution was impracticable, being so far from any plantations or white people, and the severe weather rendering my limbs in a manner quite stiff and motionless: however, I contrived to defend myself against the inclemency of the weather as well as I could, by making myself a little *wigwam*, with the bark of the trees, covering the same with earth, which made it resemble a cave: and to prevent the ill effects of the cold which penetrated into it, I was forced to keep a good fire always near the door.

Thus did I for near two months endure such hardships of cold and hunger as had hitherto been unknown to me. My liberty of going about, was, indeed, more than I could have expected, but they well knew the impracticability of my eloping from them. Seeing me outwardly easy and submissive, they would sometimes give me a little meat, but my chief food was *Indian* corn, dressed as I have above described. Notwithstanding such their civility, the time passed so tedious on, that I almost began to despair of ever regaining my liberty, or seeing my few relations again; which, with the anxiety and pain I suffered on account of my dear wife, often gave me inexpressible concern.

At length the time arrived, when they were preparing themselves for another expedition against the planters and white people; but before they set out, they were
joined

joined by many other *Indians* from fort *Du-Quésne*, well stored with powder and ball they had received of the *French*.

As soon as the snow was quite gone, and no traces of their vile footsteps could be perceived, they set forth on their journey towards the back parts of the province of *Pensylvania*; and leaving their wives and children behind in their *wigwams*. They were now a terrible and formidable body, amounting to near 150. My duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never intrusted me with a gun. We marched on several days without any thing particular occurring, almost famished for want of provisions; for my part, I had nothing but a few stalks of *Indian* corn, which I was glad to eat dry: Nor, did the *Indians* themselves fare much better, for as we drew near the plantations they were affraid to kill any game, lest the noise of their guns should alarm the inhabitants.

When we again arrived at the *Blue-Hills*, about 30 miles from *Cannocojigge*, the *Irish* settlement before-mentioned, we encamped for three days, though God knows we had neither tents, nor any thing else to defend us from the inclemency of the air, having nothing to lie on by night but the grass. Their usual method of lodging, pitching, or encamping, by night, being in parcels of ten or twelve men to a fire, where they lie upon the grass or bushes, wrapt up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

During our stay here, a sort of council of war was held, when it was agreed to divide themselves into companies of about twenty men each; after which every captain marched with his party where he thought proper. I still belonged to my old masters, but was left behind on the mountains with ten *Indians*, to stay until the rest should return; not thinking it proper to carry me nearer to *Cannocojigge*, or the other plantations.

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Here, being left, I began to meditate on my escape, and though I knew the country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts, with my companions hunting deer, and other beasts; yet, was I very cautious of giving the least suspicions of such my intentions. However, the third day after the grand body left us, my companions, or keepers, thought proper to visit the mountains, in search of game for their subsistence, leaving me bound in such a manner that I could not escape: At night when they returned, having unbound me, we all sat down together to supper on two Pole Cats, being what they had killed, and soon after (being greatly fatigued, with their day's excursion) they composed themselves to rest, as usual. Observing them to be in that somniferous state, I tried various ways to see whether it was a scheme to prove my intentions or not, but after making a noise and walking about, sometimes touching them with my feet, I found there was no fallacy. My heart then exulted with joy at seeing a time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my captivity: but this joy was soon damped by the dread of being discovered by them, or taken by any straggling parties. To prevent which, I resolved, if possible, to get one of their guns, and if discovered, to die in my defence, rather than be taken: for that purpose, I made various efforts to get one from under their heads, (where they always secured them,) but in vain. Frustrated in this my first essay towards regaining my liberty, I dreaded the thoughts of carrying my design into execution: yet, after a little consideration, and trusting myself to the divine protection, I set forwards naked and defenceless as I was. A rash and dangerous enterprize! Such was my terror, however, that in going from them, I halted, and paused every four or five yards, looking fearfully towards the spot where I had left them, lest they should awake and miss me; but
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when I was about two hundred yards from them, I mended my pace, and made as much haste as I could to the foot of the mountains; when on a sudden I was struck with the greatest terror and amaze, at hearing the wood-cry, as it is called, and may be expressed *Jo-hau!* *Jo-hau!* which the savages I had left were making, accompanied with the most hideous cries and howlings they could utter. The bellowing of Lyons, the shrieks of hyaenas, or the roaring of tygers, would have been music to my ears, in comparison to the sounds that then saluted them. They having now missed their charge, I concluded that they would soon separate themselves and hie in quest of me. The more my terror increased the faster did I push on, and scarce knowing where I trod, drove through the woods with the utmost precipitation, sometimes falling and bruising myself, cutting my feet and legs against the stones, in a miserable manner; but though faint and maimed as I was, I continued my flight until break of day, when without having any thing to sustain nature, but a little corn left, I crept into a hollow tree, in which I lay very snug, and returned my prayers and thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favoured my escape. But my repose was in a few hours destroyed, at hearing the voices of the savages near the place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would use me, if they got me again; that I was before too sensible of, to have the least rest, either in body or mind since I had left them. However, they at last left the spot where I heard them, and I remained in my circular asylum all that day without further molestation.

At night, I ventured forwards again, frightened and trembling at every bush I passed, thinking each twig that touched me to be a savage. The third day I concealed myself in the like manner, and at night I travelled on in the same deplorable condition keeping off the main

road, used by the *Indians*, as much as possible, which made my journey many miles longer, and more painful and irksome than I can express. But how shall I describe the fear, terror, and shock, that I felt on the fourth night, when, by the rustling I made among the leaves, a party of *Indians*, that lay round a small fire, which I did not perceive, started from the ground, and seizing their arms, run from the fire, amongst the woods. Whether to move forward, or rest where I was, I knew not, so distracted was my imagination. In this melancholy state, revolving in my thoughts the now inevitable fate I thought waited on me, to my great consternation and joy, I was relieved by a parcel of swine that made towards the place I guessed the savages to be; who on seeing the hogs, conjectured that their alarm had been occasioned by them, and very merrily returned to the fire, and lay down to sleep as before. As soon as I perceived my enemies so disposed of, with more cautious step and silent tread; I pursued my course, sweeting (though winter, and severely cold) with the fear I had been just relieved from. Bruised, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was, I still, through the divine assistance, was enabled to pursue my journey until break of day, when thinking myself far off from any of these miscreants I so much dreaded, I lay down under a great log, and slept undisturbed until about noon, when getting up, I reached the summit of a great hill, with some difficulty, and looking out if I could spy any habitations of white people, to my unutterable joy I saw some, which I guessed to be about ten miles distance.

This pleasure was in some measure abated, by not being able to get among them that night. Therefore, when evening approached, I again recommended myself to the Almighty, and composed my wearied mangled limbs to rest. In the morning, as soon as I awoke, I continued my journey towards the nearest cleared lands,

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I had seen the day before, and about four o'clock in the afternoon, arrived at the house of *John Bell*, an old acquaintance, where, knocking at the door, his wife, who opened it, seeing me in such a frightful condition, flew from me like lightening, screaming into the house. This alarmed the whole family, who immediately fled to their arms, and I was soon accosted by the master with his gun in his hand. But on my assuring him of my innocence, as to any wicked intentions, and making myself known, (for he before took me to be an *Indian*) he immediately caressed me, as did all his family, with a deal of friendship at finding me alive; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the savages some months before. No longer now able to support my fatigued and worn out spirits, I fainted and fell to the ground. From which state having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famished condition I then was in, they soon gave me some refreshment, but let me partake of it very sparingly, fearing the ill effects too much at once would have on me. They for two days and nights very affectionately supplied me with all necessaries, and carefully attended me until my spirits and limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myself able to ride, when I borrowed of these good people (whose kindness merits my most grateful returns) a horse and some clothes, and set forward for my father-in-law's house in *Chester* county, about 140 miles from thence, where I arrived on the 4th day of *January*, 1755, but scarce one of the family could credit their eyes, believing with the people I had lately left, that I had fallen a prey to the *Indians*.

Great was the joy and satisfaction wherewith I was received and embraced by the whole family; but oh, what was my anguish and trouble, when on inquiring for my dear wife, I found she had been dead two months! This fatal news, as every humane reader must imagine, great-

greatly lessened the joy and rapture I otherwise should have felt at my deliverance from the dreadful state and company I had been in.

The news of my happy arrival at my father-in-law's house, after so long and strange an absence, was soon spread round the neighbouring plantations by the country people who continually visited me, being very desirous of hearing, and eagerly inquiring an account of my treatment, and manner of living among the *Indians*. In all which I satisfied them. Soon after this, my arrival, I was sent for by his excellency Mr. *Morris*, the governor, a worthy gentleman, who examined me very particularly, as to all incidents relating to my captivity, and especially, in regard to the *Indians*, who had first taken me away, whether they were *French* or *English* parties? I assur'd his excellency, they were of those, who profess'd themselves to be friends of the latter; and informed him of the many barbarous and inhuman actions, I had been witness to among them, on the frontiers of the province; and also, that they were daily increasing by others of our pretended friends joining them; that they were all well supplied by the *French* with arms and ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual excursions and barbarities, not only, in having extraordinary premiums for such scalps as they should take, and carry home with them at their return, but great presents of all kinds, besides rum, powder, ball, &c. before they sallied forth. Having satisfied his excellency in such particulars as he requested, the same being put into writing, I swore to the contents thereof; as may be seen, by those who doubt of my veracity, in the public papers of that time, as well in *England* as in *Philadelphia*. Having done with me, Mr. *Morris* gave me three guineas, and sent the affidavit to the assembly who were then sitting in the state-house at *Philadelphia*, concluding on proper measures

to check the depredations of the savages, and put a stop to the barbarous hostilities of the distressed inhabitants, who daily suffered death in a most deplorable condition; besides being obliged to abscond their plantations, and the country being left destitute, for several hundred miles on the frontiers, and the poor sufferers could have no relief, by reason of the disputes between the governor and the assembly. The former was led by the instructions of the proprietor, which was intirely against the interest of the province, so that it caused great confusion among the people to see the country so destroyed, and no preparations making for its defence.

However, on receiving this intelligence from his excellency, they immediately sent for me. When I arrived, I was conducted into the lower-house, where the assembly then sat, and was there interrogated by the speaker, very particularly as to all I had before given the governor an account of; this my first examination lasted three hours. The next day, I underwent a second, for about an hour and a half, when I was courteously dismissed, with a promise that all proper methods should be taken, not only to accomodate and reimburse all those who had suffered by the savages; and to prevent them from committing the like hostilities for the future.

Now return'd, and once more at liberty to pursue my own inclinations, I was persuaded by my father-in-law and friends to follow some employment or other; but the plantation, from whence I was taken, tho' an exceeding good one, could not tempt me to settle on it again. What my fate would have been if I had, may easily be conceived. And there being at this time (as the assembly, too late for many of us found) a necessity for raising men to check those barbarians in their ravaging depredations, I inlisted myself as one, with the greatest alacrity, and most determined resolution, to ex-

ert the utmost of my power, in being revenged on the hellish authors of my ruin. General *Shirley* governor of *New-England*, and commander in chief of his majesty's land forces in *North America*, was pitched upon, to direct the operations of the war, in that part of the world.

Into a regiment, immediately under the command of this general, was it my lot to be placed for three years. This regiment was intended for the frontiers, to destroy the forts erected by the *French*, as soon as it should be completely furnished with arms, &c. at *Boston* in *New-England*, where it was ordered for that purpose. Being then very weak, and infirm in body, tho' possessed of my resolution, it was thought adviseable to leave me for two months in winter-quarters. At the end of which, being pretty well recruited in strength, I set out for *Boston*, to join the regiment with some others, likewise left behind; and after crossing the river *De-la-ware*, we arrived at *New-Jersey*, and from thence proceeded thro' the same by *New-York*, *Middletown*, *Mendon*, in *Connecticut* to *Boston*, where we arrived about the end of *March*, and found the regiment ready to receive us.

Boston, being the capital of *New-England*, and the largest city in *America*, except two or three on the *Spanish* continent, I shall here subjoin a short account of it.

'Tis pleasantly situated, and about four miles in compass, at the bottom of *Massachuset's* bay, into which there is but one common and safe passage, and not very broad, there being scarce room for three ships to come in a-breast; but once in, there's room for the anchorage of 500 sail. It is guarded by several rocks, and above a dozen islands; the most remarkable of these islands is *Castle-island*, which stands about a league from the town, and so situated, that no ship of burthen can approach the town, without the hazard of being shatter'd in pieces by its cannon. It is now called *Fort-William*, and
mounted

mounted with 100 pieces of ordnance; 200 more which were given to the province by queen *Anne*, are placed on a plat-form, so as to take a ship fore and aft, before she can bring about her broadsides to bear against the castle. Some of these cannon are 42 pounders; 500 able men are exempted from all military duty in times of war, to be ready at an hour's warning, to attend the service of the castle, upon a signal of the approach of an enemy, which there seems to be no great danger of at *Boston*; where, in 24 hour's time, 10,000 effective men, well arm'd, might be ready for their defence. According to a computation of the collectors of the *Light-house*, it appear'd that there were 24,000 tons of shipping clear'd annually.

The pier is at the bottom of the bay 2000 feet long, and runs so far into the bay, that ships of the greatest burthen may unload without the help of boats or lighters. At the upper end of the chief street in the town, which comes down to the head of the pier, is the *Town-house*, or *Exchange*, a fine building, containing, besides the walk for merchants, the *Council-chamber*, the *House of Commons*, and a spacious room for the courts of justice. The *Exchange* is surrounded with bookseller's shops that have a good trade: Here being five printing-houses, and the presses generally full of work, which is in a great measure owing to the colleges and schools in *New-England*; whereas at *New-York* there are but two or three little bookseller's shops, and very few in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Sugar-islands*.

The town lies in the form of an half-moon round the harbour, and consisting of about 4000 houses, must make an agreeable prospect; the surrounding shore being high, the streets long, and the buildings beautiful. The pavement is kept in so good order, that to gallop

an horse on it is 3 s. 4 d. forfeit. The number of inhabitants is computed at about 24,000.

There are eight churches, the chief of which is called the *Church-of-England-church*; besides the *Baptist* meeting, and the *Quakers* meeting.

The conversation in this town is as polite as in most of the cities and towns in *England*. A gentleman of *London* would fancy himself at home, at *Boston*, when he observes the number of people, their furniture, their tables, and dress, which perhaps, is as splendid and showy as that of most tradesmen in *London*.

In this city, learning military discipline, and wanting for an opportunity of carrying our schemes into execution, we lay till the first of *July*; during all which time great outrages and devastations were committed by the savages in the back parts of the province. One instance of which, in particular I shall relate, as being concern'd in rewarding according to desert, the wicked authors thereof.

Joseph Long, esq. a gentleman of large fortune in these parts, who had in his time been a great warrior among the *Indians*, and frequently joined in expeditions with those in our interest, against the others. His many exploits, and great influence among several of the nations, were too well known to pass unrevenge'd by the savages against whom he had exerted his abilities. Accordingly in *April* 1756, a body of them came down on his plantation, about 30 miles from *Boston*, and skulking in the woods for some time, at last seized an opportunity to attack his house, in which, unhappily proving successful, they scalped, mangled, and cut to pieces, the unfortunate gentleman, his wife, and nine servants; and then made a general conflagration of his houses, barns, cattle, and every thing he possessed, with the mangled bodies; all suffered together in one great blaze! But his more unfortunate son and daughter were made

made prisoners, and carried off by them, to be reserv'd for greater tortures. Alarm'd and terrified at this inhuman butchery, the neighbourhood, as well as the people of *Boston*, quickly assembled themselves, to think of proper measures to be reveng'd on these execrable monsters. Among the first of those who offer'd themselves to go against the savages, was *James Crawford*, esq. who was then at *Boston*, and heard of this tragedy; he was a young gentleman who had for some years, paid his addresses to Miss *Long*, and was in a very little time to have been married to her. Distracted, raving, and shocked, as he was, he lost no time, but instantly raised an hundred resolute and bold young fellows, to go in quest of the villains. As I had been so long among them, and pretty well acquainted with their manners and customs, and particularly their skulking places in the woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his expedition; he immediately applied to my officers and got liberty for me. Never did I go on any enterprize with half that alacrity and chearfulness I now went with this party. My wrongs and sufferings were too recent in my memory, to suffer me to hesitate a moment in taking an opportunity of being revenged to the utmost of my power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we hastened forwards for Mr. *Long*'s plantation on the 29th, and after travelling the most remote and intricate paths through the woods, arrived there the 2d of *May*, dubious of our success, and almost despairing of meeting with the savages, as we had heard or could discover nothing of them in our march. In the afternoon, some of our men being sent to the top of a hill to look out for them, soon perceiv'd a great smoak in a part of the low grounds. This we immediately, and rightly conjectured to proceed from a fire made by them. We accordingly put ourselves into regular order, and marched forwards, resolving,

let their number have been what it might, to give them battle.

Arriving within a mile of the place, captain *Crawford*, whose anxiety and pain, made him quicker sighted than any of the rest, soon perceiv'd them, and guess'd their number to be about 50. Upon this we halted, and secreted ourselves as well as we could, till twelve o'clock at night. At which time, supposing them to be at rest, we divided our men into two divisions, 50 in each, and marched on; when coming within twenty yards of them, the captain fired his gun, which was immediately followed by both divisions in succession, who instantly rushing on them with bayonets fix'd, killed every man of them.

Great as our joy was, and flush'd with success as we were at this sudden victory, no heart among us but was ready to burst at the sight of the unhappy young lady. What must the thoughts, torments, and sensations of our brave captain then be, if even we who knew her not, were so sensibly affected! For, oh! what breast, tho' of the brutal savage race we had just destroyed, could, without feeling the most exquisite grief and pain, behold in such infernal power, a lady in the bloom of youth, blest with every female accomplishment that could set off the most exquisite beauty! Beauty, which rendered her the envy of her own sex, and the delight of ours, enduring the severity of a windy, rainy night! Behold one nurtured in the most tender manner, and by the most indulgent parents, quite naked, and in the open woods, encircling with her alabaster arms and hands a cold rough tree, whereto she was bound, with cords so straitly pull'd, that the blood trickled from her finger's ends! Her lovely tender body and delicate limbs, cut, bruise'd, and torn with stones, and boughs of trees as she had been dragg'd along, and all besmear'd with blood! What heart can even now, unmoved, think of her

her distress, in such a deplorable condition? having no creature, with the least sensations of humanity, near to succour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing tears and lamentable wailings!

The very remembrance of the sight, has at this instant such an effect upon me, that I almost want words to go on.-----Such then was the condition in which we found this wretched fair, but faint and speechless with the shock our firing had given her tender frame. The captain for a long time could do nothing but gaze upon and clasp her to his bosom, crying, raving, and tearing his hair like one bereft of his senses; nor did he for some time perceive the lifeless condition she was in, untill one of the men had untied her lovely mangled arms, and she fell to the ground. Finding among the villain's plunder the unhappy lady's cloaths, he gently put some of them about her; and after various trials, and much time spent, recovered her dissipated spirits, the repossession of which she first manifested by eagerly fixing her eyes on her dear deliverer, and smiling with the most compaisant joy, blessed the Almighty, and him, for her miraculous deliverance.

During this pleasing, painful interview, our men were busily employed in cutting, hacking, and scalping the dead *Indians*; and so desirous was every man to have a share in reaking his revenge on them, that disputes happened among ourselves who should be the instruments of further shewing it on their lifeless trunks, there not being enough for every man to have one wherewith to satiate himself: The captain observing the animosity between us, on this occasion, ordered, that the two divisions should cast lots for this bloody, though agreeable piece of work: which being accordingly done, the party, whose lot it was to be excluded from this business, stood by with half-pleased countenances, looking on the rest; who with the utmost chearfulness and activity pursued

pursued their revenge in scalping, and otherwise treating their dead bodies as the most inveterate hatred and detestation could suggest.

The work being done, we thought of steering homewards triumphant with the 50 scalps; but how to get the lady forwards, who was in such a condition, as rendered her incapable of walking further, gave us some pain, and retarded us a little, until we made a sort of carriage to seat her on; and then, with the greatest readiness, we took our turns, four at a time, and carried her along. This in some measure, made the captain chearful, who all the way endeavoured to comfort and revive his desponding afflicted mistress: but alas! in vain; for the miseries she had lately felt, and the terrible fate of her poor brother, of whom, I doubt not but the tender-hearted reader is anxious to hear, rendered even her most pleasing thoughts, notwithstanding his soothing words, corroding and insufferable.

The account she gave of their disastrous fate and dire catastrophe, besides what I have already mentioned, was, That the savages had no sooner seen all consumed, but they hurried off with her and her brother, pushing, and sometimes dragging them on, for four or five miles, when they stopt; and stripping her naked, treated her in a shocking manner, whilst others were stripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy brother. After which, they in the same manner pursued their journey, regardless of the tears, prayers, or entreaties of this wretched pair; but, with the most infernal pleasure, laughed and rejoiced at the calamities and distresses they had brought them to, and saw them suffer, until they arrived at the place we found them; where, they had that day butchered her beloved brother in the following execrable and cruel manner: They first scalped him alive, and after mocking his agonizing groans and torments, for some hours, ripped open his belly, into which they put
splin-

splinters, and chips of pine-trees, and set fire thereto; the same (on account of the turpentine wherewith these trees abound) burnt with great quickness and fury for a little time, during which, he remained in a manner alive, as she could sometimes perceive him to move his head, and groan. They then piled a great quantity of wood all round his body, and most inhumanly consumed it to ashes.

Thus did these Barbarians put an end to the being of this unhappy young gentleman, who was only 22 years of age when he met his calamitous fate. She continued her relation, by acquainting us, That the next day, was to have seen her perish in the like manner, after suffering worse than even such a terrible death, the satisfying these diabolical miscreants in their brutal lust. But it pleased the Almighty to permit us to rescue her, and entirely extirpate this crew of devils!

Marching easily on her account, we returned to the captain's plantation the 6th of *May*, where, as well as at *Boston*, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handsomely for the scalps of those savages we had brought with us. Mr. *Crawford* and Miss *Long*, were soon after married; and in gratitude to the services we had done them, the whole party were invited to the wedding, and nobly entertained, but no riotous or noisy mirth was allowed, the young lady, as we may well imagine, being still under great affliction, and in a weak state of health.

Nothing further material, that I now remember, happened during my stay at *Boston*; to proceed therefore, with the continuation of our intended expedition.

On the the 1st of *July*, the regiment began their march for *Oswego*. The 21st we arrived at *Albany* in *New-York*, through *Cambridge*, *Northampton*, and *Hadfield*, in *New-England*. From thence, marching about twenty miles farther, we incamped near the mouth
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of the *Mohawk* river, by a town called *Schenectady*, not far from the *Endless-Mountains*. Here did we ly some time, until *batteaux*' (a sort of flat-bottomed boats, very small, and sharp at both ends) could be got to carry our stores and provisions to *Oswego*; each of which, would contain about six barrels of pork, or in proportion thereto. Two men belonged to every *batteaux*, who made use of strong scutting poles, with iron at the ends, to prevent their being too soon destroyed by the stones in the river (one of the sources of the *Ohio*) which abounded with many, and large ones, and in some places was so shallow, that the men were forced to wade and drag their *batteaux* after them. Which, together with some cataraacts, or great falls of water, rendering this duty very hard and fatiguing, not being able to travel more than seven or eight *English* miles a day, until they came to the *Great-Carrying* place at *Wood's Creek*, where the provisions and *batteaux* were taken out, and carried about four miles, to *Alliganey*, or *Ohio* great river, that ran quite to *Oswego*, to which place, general *Shirley* got with part of the forces on the 8th of *August*; but colonel *Mercer* with the remainder, did not arrive until the 31st. Here we found colonel *Scuyler* with his regiment of *New-Jersey* provincials, who had arrived there some time before. A short description of a place, which has afforded so much occasion for animadversion, may not here be altogether disagreeable to those unacquainted with our settlements in that part of the world.

Oswego is situated N. Lat. 43 Deg. 20 Min. near the mouth of the river *Onondago*, on the south-side of the lake *Ontario*, or *Cataraquie*. There was generally a fort and constant garrison of regular troops kept before our arrival. In the proper seasons, a fair for the *Indian* trade is kept here: *Indians* of above twenty different nations have been observed here at a time. The great-
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est part of the trade between *Canada* and the *Indians* of the *Great Lakes*, and some parts of the *Mississippi*, pass near this fort; the nearest and safest way of carrying goods upon this lake, being along the south-side of it. The distance of *Albany* to *Oswego* fort is about 300 miles west; to render which march more comfortable, we met with many good farms and settlements in the way. The *Outawaes*, a great and powerful nation, living upon the *Outawae* river, which joins the *Catarique* river, (the out-let of the *Great Lakes*) deal considerably with the *New-York* trading houses here.

The different nations trading to *Oswego* are distinguishable by the variety and different fashions of their canoes; the very remote *Indians* are cloathed in skins of various sorts, and have all fire-arms: Some come from so far North as *Port-Nelson*, in *Hudson's Bay*, N. Lat. 57 Deg. And some from the *Chirakees*, west of *South-Carolina*, in N. Lat. 32 Deg. This seems indeed to be a vast extent of in-land water-carriage, but it is only for canoes, and the smallest of craft.

Nor will it in this place be improper to give some account of our friends in those parts, whom we call the *Mohawks*, viz. The *Iroquois*, commonly called the *Mohawks*; the *Oneiadaes*, the *Onondagues*, the *Cayugaes*, and the *Senekeas*. In all accounts, they are lately called the *Six Nations* of the *New-York* friendly-*Indians*; the *Tuscararoes*, stragglers from the old *Tuscararoes* of *North-Carolina*, lately are reckoned as the sixth.--I shall here reckon them, as I have been informed they were formerly. 1. The *Mohawks*; they live upon the *Mohawk's* or *Shenectady* river, and head, or ly North of *New-York*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland* and some part of *Virginia*; having a castle or village, westward from *Albany* forty miles, and another sixty-five miles West, and about 160 sensible men. 2. The *Oneiadaes*, about eighty miles from the *Mohawk's* second

village, consisting of near 200 fighting men. 3. The *Onondagues*, about twenty-five miles further, (the famous *Oswego* trading place, on the lake *Ontario*, is in their country) consist of about 250 men. 4. The *Cayugaes*, about seventy miles further, of about 130 men. And, 5. The *Senekeas*, who reach a great way down the river *Susquehanna*, consist of about 700 marching, fighting men: So that the fighting men of the five or six nations of *Mohawks*, may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from *Albany*, West 400 miles, lying in about thirty tribes or governments. Besides these, there is settled above *Montreal*, which lies N. E. of *Oswego*, a tribe of scoundrel run-aways from the *Mohawks*; they are called *Kabnuages*, consisting of about eighty men.---This short account of these nations, I think it necessary to make the *English* reader acquainted with, as I may have occasion to mention things concerning some of them.

It may not be improper here also, to give a succinct detail of the education, manners, religion, &c. of the natives. The *Indians* are born tolerably white; but they take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themselves with grease, and lying in the sun. Their features are good, especially those of the women. Their limbs clean, straight, and well proportioned, and a crooked and deformed person is a great rarity among them. They are very ingenious in their way, being neither so ignorant, nor so innocent, as some people imagine: On the contrary, a very understanding generation are they, quick of apprehension, sudden in dispatch, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and in labour assiduous: The world has no better marks-men with guns, bows, and arrows than the natives, who can kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild-beasts running; nay, with such prodigious force do they

they discharge their arrow, that one of them will shoot a man quite through and nail both his arms to his body with the same arrow.

As to their religion, in order to reconcile the different accounts exhibited by travellers, we must suppose that different tribes may have different notions, and different rites: And though I do not think myself capable of determining the case with the precision and accuracy I could wish; yet, with what I have collected from my own observation when among them, and the information of my brother-captives, who have been longer conversant with the *Indians* than I was; I shall readily give the public all the satisfaction I can.

Some assure us the *Indians* worship the images of some inferior deities, whose anger they seem to dread; on which account the generality of our travellers denominate the objects of their devotion, devils; though at the time, it is allowed they pray to their inferior deities for success in all their undertakings, for plenty of food and other necessaries of life. It appears too, that they acknowledge one Supreme Being, but him they adore not, because they believe he is too far exalted above them, and too happy in himself to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They seem also to believe a future state, and that, after death, they will be removed to their friends, who have gone before them, to an *Elysium* or *Paradise* beyond the *Western-Mountains*: Others again, allow them either no religion at all, or, at most, very faint ideas of a Deity; but all agree that they are extravagantly superstitious, and exceedingly afraid of evil spirits. To these *Demons* they make oblations every new-moon, for the space of seven days, during which time, they cast lots, and sacrifice one of themselves, putting the person devoted, to the most exquisite misery they can invent, in order to satisfy the devil for

that moon; for they think if they please but the evil spirit, God will do them no hurt.

Certain however it is, that those *Indians*, whom the *French* priests have had an opportunity of ministring unto, are induced to believe, "That the Son of God came into the world to save all mankind, and destroy all evil spirits that now trouble them, that the *English* have killed him, and that ever since, the evil spirits are permitted to walk on the earth: That if the *English* were all destroyed, the Son of the Good-man, who is God, would come again, and banish all evil-spirits from their lands, and then they would have nothing to fear or disturb them." Cajoled by these false but artful insinuations of the *French Jesuits*, the *Indians* from that time, have endeavoured to massacre all the *English*, in order that the Son of God might come again on the earth, and rid them from their slavish fears and terrible apprehensions, by exterminating the objects thereof.

Being now at *Oswego*, the principal object that gave at that time any concern to the *Americans*, I shall, before I continue my own account, give a short recital of what had been done in these parts, in regard to the defence and preservation of the fort, and the colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon such authorities as I got from those who had been long at *Oswego*, and I can well depend upon for truth,

General *Shirley*, in 1754, having erected two new forts on the river *Onondaga*, it seemed probable, that he intended to winter at *Oswego* with his army, that he might the more readily proceed to action in the ensuing spring. What produced his inactivity afterwards, and how it was, that fort *Oswego* was not taken by the *French* in the spring of 1755, are things my penetration will not enable me to discuss. But *Oswego* is now lost, and would have been so in the spring of 1755, if more
impor-

important affairs had not made the *French* neglect it. At this time the garison of *Oswego* consisted only of 100 men, under capt. *King*. The old fort being their only protection, which mounted only eight four pounders, was incapable of defence, because it was commanded by an eminence directly cross a narrow river, the banks of which were covered with thick wood.

In *May* 1755, *Oswego* being in this condition, and thus garrison'd; thirty *French* batteaux were seen to pass, and two days after 11 more; each batteau (being much larger than ours) containing 15 men: so this fleet consisted of near 600 men: A force, which with a single mortar, might soon have taken possession of the place.

A resolution was now taken to make the fort larger, and erect some new ones; to build vessels upon the lake; to increase the garrison; and provide every thing necessary to annoy the enemy, so as they might render the place tenable. Captain *Broadstreet* arriving on the 27th of *May* at the fort, with two companies, some small swivel guns, and the first parcel of workmen, made some imagine that a stop would be put to the *French* in their carrying men in sight of the garrison; yet, they still permitted 11 more *French* batteaux to pass by, tho' we were then superior to them in these boats, or at least in number. The reason our forces *could not* attack them, was, because, they were four miles in the Offing, on board large vessels, in which the soldiers could stand to fire without being overset; and our batteaux, in which we must have attack'd them, were so small, that they would contain only six men each, and so ticklish, that the inadvertent motion of one man would overset them. No care, however, was taken to provide larger boats against another emergency of the same kind. At *Oswego*, indeed, it was impracticable for want of *iron-work*; such being the provident forecast of those who had the management of affairs, that tho' there were smiths enough, yet,

yet, there was, at this place, but one pair of bellows, so that the first accident that should happen to that necessary instrument, would stop all the operations of the forge at once.

The beginning of *June*, the ship-carpenters arrived from *Boston*, and on the 28th of the same month, the first vessel we ever had on the lake *Ontario*, was launched and fitted out: She was a schooner 40 feet in the keel, had 14 oars, and 12 swivel guns. This vessel, and 320 men, was all the force we had at *Oswego*, the beginning of *July*, and was victualled at the expence of the province of *New-York*. Happy indeed, it was, that the colony provisions were there; for so little care had been taken to get the king's provisions sent up, that, when we arrived, we must have perished with famine, had we not found a supply, which we had little reason to expect.

About the middle of *July*, an attack was again expected, when we (the forces under general *Shirley*) were still near 300 miles distant. And, if the attack had then been made, with the force the enemy was known to have had at hand, it must, for the reason I have just before given, have fallen into their possession.

Such was the state of *Oswego*, when we arrived there: Where we had been but a small time, before provisions began to be very scarce; and the king's allowance being still delay'd, the provincial stores were soon exhausted, and we were in danger of being soon famish'd, being on less than half-allowance. The men being likewise worn out, and fatigued with the long march they had suffered, and being without rum (or allowed none at least) and other proper nutriment, many fell sick of the flux, and died; so that our regiment was greatly reduced in six week's time: A party that we left at the important carrying place, at *Wood's Creek*, being absolutely obliged to desert it for want of necessaries.

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Sickness, death and desertion, had at length so far reduc'd us, that we had scarce men enough to perform duty, and protect those who were daily at work. The *Indians* keeping a strict look-out, render'd every one who pass'd the out-guards or centinels in danger of being scalp'd or murder'd. To prevent consequences like these, a captain's guard of sixty men, with two lieutenants, two serjeants, two corporals, and one drum, besides two flank-guards of a serjeant, corporal, and twelve men in each, were daily mounted, and did duty as well as able. Scout-ing-parties were likewise sent out every day: But the sickness still continuing, and having 300 men at work, we were oblig'd to lessen our guards, till general *Pepperel's* regiment join'd us.

A little diligence being now made use of, about the middle of *September*, four other vessels were got ready, viz. A deck'd sloop of eight guns, four pounders, and 30 swivels; a deck'd schooner, eight guns, four pounders, and twenty eight swivels; one undeck'd schooner, of fourteen swivels, and fourteen oars, and another of twelve swivels, and fourteen oars; about 150 tons each.

On the 24th of *October*, with this armament, and a considerable number of batteaux, which were too small to live upon the lake in moderate weather, we were pre-pareing to attack *Niagara*; tho' (notwithstanding we had taken all the provisions we could find in *Oswego*, and had left the garrison behind, with scarce enough for three days) the fleet had not provisions sufficient on board, to carry them within sight of the enemy, and supplies were not to be got, within 300 miles of the place, we were going against. However, the impracticability of succeeding in an expedition, undertaken without victuals, was discovered time enough to prevent our march, or embarkation, or whatever it may be call'd; but not before nine batteaux laden with officer's baggage, were sent forwards,
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four men in each batteau; in one of which, it was my lot to be. The men being weak, and low in spirits, with continual harassing, and low feeding, render'd our progress very tedious and difficult. Add to this, the places we had to pass and ascend; for, in many parts, the *Cataracts*, or *falls* of water, which descended near the head of the river *Onondaga* (in some places near 100 feet perpendicular) rendered it almost impossible for us to proceed; for the current running from the bottom, was so rapid, that the efforts of twenty or thirty men were sometimes required to drag the boats along, and especially to get them up the hills or *Cataracts*, which we were forced to do with ropes; Sometimes, when with great labour and difficulty, we had got them up, we carried them by land near a quarter of a mile, before we came to any water. In short, we found four men to a batteau insufficient; for the men belonging to one batteau, were so fatigued and worn out, that they could not manage her, so that she lay behind almost a league.

The captain that was with us, observing this, as soon as we had got the others over the most difficult falls, ordered two besides myself to go and help her forwards: Accordingly I got into her, in order to steer her, whilst my two comrades and her own crew dragged her along. When we got to any *Cataracts*, I remained in her to fasten the ropes, and keep all safe, while they hauled her up; but drawing her to the summit of the last *Cataract*, the ropes gave way, and down she fell, into a very rapid and boisterous stream; where not being able by myself, to work her, she stove to pieces on a small rock, on which some part of her remaining till morning, I miraculously sav'd myself. Never was my life in greater danger than in this situation; the night being quite dark, and no assistance to be obtain'd from any of my comrades; tho' many of them, as I afterwards learn'd, made diligent search for me; but the fall of the waters render'd the noise that they,

they as well as myself made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

In the morning, they indeed found me, but in a wretched condition, quite benumb'd, and almost dead with the cold, having nothing on but my shirt.

After various efforts, having with great difficulty got me up, they used all proper means to recover my worn-out spirits: But the fire had a fatal effect to what they intended, for my flesh swelled all over my body and limbs, and caused such a deprivation of my senses, that I fainted, and was thought by all to be dead. However, after some time, they pretty well recover'd my scatter'd senses, and fatigued body; and, with proper care conducted me, with some others (who were weak and ill of the flux) to *Albany*, where the hospital received our poor, debilitated bodies.

The rest, not able to proceed, or being countermanded, bent their course back again to *Oswego*: Where, a friendly storm preventing an embarkation, when a stock of provisions was got together (sufficient to prevent them from eating one another, during the first twelve days) all thoughts of attacking *Niagara* were laid aside.

Thus ended this formidable campaign. The vessels that we had built (as I afterwards learn'd) were unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any use; while a *French* vessel was cruising on the *Lake*, and carrying supplies to *Niagara*, without interruption; five others as large as ours, being also ready to launch at *Frontenac*, which lies across the lake *Ontario*, north of *Oswego*.

The general, whatever appearances might have led others, as well as myself, to think otherwise; soon indicated his intention of not wintering at *Oswego*; for, he left the place before the additional works were completed, and the garrison, by insensible degrees, decreased to 1100 men; still living in perpetual terror, on the

brink of famine, and become mutinous for want of their pay; which, in the *hurry of military business*, during a year that was crowned with great events, had been forgotten: for, from my first enlistment, to the time I was laid up at *Albany*, I never had received above six week's pay.

A little indeed, may be offered in vindication of the general, in regard to the numberless delays of this campaign, viz. That it took some time to raise the two regiments, which were in *British* pay, as the name of enlisting for life, is somewhat forbidding to the *Americans*: (a few of whom, as well as myself, made our agreement for three years; but after that time, I doubt, we must have depended on his pleasure for our being discharg'd, according to our contract, had it not fallen out otherwise.) The unusual dryness of the summer, which rendered the rivers down to *Oswego* in some places impassable, or very difficult for the batteaux to proceed; and it was whisper'd, that a gentleman, lately in an eminent station in *New-York*, did all in his power to hinder the undertaking, from a pique to the general. By these disadvantages, he was detained at *Albany*, till *August*, and even when he did reach *Oswego*, he found himself put to no little difficulty to maintain his ground, for want of provisions; and the men being so reduced, more than once, to short allowance, as you have seen, became troubled with the flux, and had not any thing necessary, not even rum sufficient for the *common* men, to prevent the fatal effects of that disorder.

In this manner, the summer was spent on our side; and the reason why the *French* did not this year take *Oswego*, when they might, with so little trouble, was, as many besides myself conjectured, that they thought it more their interest, to pursue their projects on the *Ohio*, and preserve the friendship of the considerable
Indians;

Indians; which, an attack upon *Oswego*, at that time, would have destroyed.

How far they succeeded in such their projects, and the reasons of their successes, a little animadversion on our own transactions will let us into the light of. For, as appearances on our side, were very favourable in the spring; general *Braddock's* defeat greatly increased the gloom, which sat on the countenances of the *Americans*.

Great things being expected from him, he arrived early in the spring, at *Virginia*, with a considerable land force; and fort *Du Quesne*, seemed to be ours, if we did but go and demand it. The attacks designed against *Niagara*, and fort *Frederick*, at *Crown-Point*, were planned in the winter, and the troops employed against the *French* in *Nova-Scotia*, embark'd at *Boston* in *April*. Let us view the events besides those already mentioned. General *Braddock* was ready to march in *April*. But through ignorance, or neglect, or a misunderstanding with the governor of *Virginia*; had neither fresh provisions, horses nor waggons provided; and so late as the latter end of *May*, it was necessary to apply to *Pensylvania*, for the most part of those. This neglect, created a most pernicious diffidence and discredit of the *Americans*, in the mind of the general, and prevented their usefulness, where their advice was wanted, and produced very bad effects. He was a man (as 'tis now too well known and believ'd) by no means, of quick apprehension, and could not conceive that such people could instruct him; and his young counsellors prejudiced him still more, so as to slight his officers, and what was worse, his enemy; as it was treated as an absurdity to suppose the *Indians* would ever attack regulars: And, of course, no care was taken to instruct the men, to resist their peculiar manner of fighting. Had this circumstance been attended to, I am fully persuaded,

ed, 400 *Indians*, about the number that defeated him, would have given him very little annoyance: Sure I am, 400 of our people, rightly managed, would have made no difficulty of driving before them, four times that handful, to whom he owed his defeat and death.

The undertaking of the eastern provinces to reduce the fort at *Crown-Point*, met that fate, which the jarring counsels of a divided people, commonly meet with; for though the plan was concerted in the winter of 1754, it was *August* before these petty governments could bring together their troops. In short, it must be owned by all, that delays were the banes of our undertakings, except in the bay of *Fundi*, in *Nova-Scotia*, where secrecy and expedition were rewarded with success, and that province reduced.

The general continued inactive, from the time he left *Oswego*, to *March* 1756, when he was about to resume the execution of his scheme to attack *Frontenac* and *Niagara*. What would have been the issue of this project, neither myself, nor any other person, can now pretend to say, for just at this crisis, he received orders from *England*, to attempt nothing, till lord *Loudon* should arrive, which was said should be early in the spring. However, his lordship did not get there until the middle of *July*, so that by this delay, time was given to the marquis *de Montcalm* (major-general *Dieskau's* successor) to arrive from *France* at *Canada* with 3000 regular forces, and take the field before us.

But to return from this digression to other transactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embarked on board a vessel from *Albany* for *New-York*; where, when I arrived, I found to my sorrow, captain *John Shirley*, the general's son, had been dead for some time; he was a very promising, worthy, young gentleman, and universally regretted. His company was given to major *James Kinnair*, who ordered, that none
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of his men should go out on the recruiting parties, as was at first intended by his predecessor; but, that the private men should either return to *Oswego*, or do duty in the fort at *New-York*. Not liking my station here, I intreated the general, who was now arrived, for a furlow, to see my friends at *Pensylvania*, which, he having then no great occasion for me, at *New-York*, granted for three months,

As I have here mentioned *New-York*, and before given a short account of the two cities, *Philadelphia* and *Boston*, it would be a disrespect shown to this elegant one, not to take notice of it, as well as in some measure debaring the reader, from such information, as may not be disagreeable; but not being of that note or consequence with the others, I shall briefly observe; that,

New-York is a very fine city, and the capital of the province of that name; it contains about 3000 houses, and near 9000 inhabitants. The houses are all well built, and the meanest of them said to be worth 100*l*. sterling, which cannot be said of the city of the same name, nor of any other in *England*. Their conversation is polite, and their furniture, dress, and manner of living, quite elegant. In drinking and gallantry they exceed any city in *America*.

The great church is a very handsome edifice, and built in 1695. Here is also a *Dutch* church, a *French* church, and a *Lutheran* church. The inhabitants of *Dutch* extraction, make a considerable part of the town, and most of them speak *English*.

Having obtained my furlow, I immediately set out for *Pensylvania*, and arriving at *Philadelphia*, found the consternation and terror of the inhabitants was greatly increased, to what it was when I left them. They had made several treaties of friendship with the *Indians*, who, when well supplied with arms, ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries, through the pacific measures,

tures, and defenceless state of the *Philadelphians*, soon revolted to the *French*, and committed great out-rages on the back parts of the province, destroying and massacring men, women and children, and every thing that unhappily lay in their way.

A few instances of which, together with the behaviour of the *Philadelphians* on these occasions, I shall here present the reader with, who, of whatever sect or profession, I am well assured, must condemn the pacific disposition, and private factions that then reigned, not only in the a-----y, but among the magistrates themselves; who were a long time, before they could agree on proper petitions, to rouse the assembly from the lethargic and inactive condition they absolutely remained in.

For about the middle of *October*, a large body of *Indians*, chiefly *Shawonese*, *De-la-ware*s, &c. fell upon this province, from several quarters, almost at the same instant, murdering, burning, and laying waste all where-ever they came; so that in the five counties of *Cumberland*, *York*, *Lancaster*, *Berks*, and *Northampton*, which compose more than half the province, nothing but scenes of distraction and desolation were to be seen.

The damages which these counties had sustained by the desertion of plantations, is not to be reckoned up; nor are the miseries of the poor inhabitants to be described; many of whom, though escaping with life, were, without a moment's warning, driven from those habitations where they enjoyed every necessary of life, and were then exposed to all the severity of an hard winter; and obliged to solicit their very bread at the cold hand of charity, or perish with hunger, under the inclement air.

To these barbarities I have already mentioned, I cannot pass over the following, as introductory causes, of the
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the *Philadelphians* at last withstanding the outrages of the Barbarians.

At *Gnadenbutten*, a small *Moravian* settlement, in *Northampton* county, the poor unhappy sufferers, were sitting round their peaceful supper, when the inhuman murderers, muffled in the shades of night, dark and horrid as the infernal purposes of their diabolic souls, stole upon them, butchered, scalped them, and consumed their bodies, together with their horses, stock, and upwards of sixty head of fat cattle, (intended for the subsistence of the brethren at *Bethlehem*) all in one general flame; so that next morning furnished only a melancholy spectacle of their mingled ashes.

At the *Great Cove* in *Cumberland*, at *Tulpehockin*, in *Berks*, and in several other places, their barbarities were still greater, if possible. Men, women, children, and brute-beasts, shared one common destruction; and where they were not burnt to ashes, their mangled limbs were found promiscuously strewed upon the ground, those appertaining to the human form, scarce to be distinguished from the brute!

But of all the instances of the barbarities I heard of, in these parts, I could not help being most affected with the following.---One family, consisting of the husband, his wife and a child, only a few hours old, were all found murdered and scalped, in this manner: The mother stretched on the bed, with her new-born child, horribly mangled, and put under her head for a pillow, while the husband lay on the ground, hard-by, with his belly ript up, and his bowels laid open.

In another place, A woman with her sucking child, finding that she had fallen into the hands of the enemy, fell flat on her face, prompted by the strong call of nature, to cover and shelter her innocent child with her own body. The accursed savage rushed from his lurking place, struck her on the head with his *tomahawk*,
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tore off her scalp, and scoured back into the woods, without observing the child, being apprehensive that he was discovered. The child was found sometime afterwards under the body of its mother, and was then alive.

Many of their young women were carried by the savages into captivity, reserved, perhaps, for a worse fate, than those who suffered death in all its horrid shapes; and no wonder, since they were reserved by savages, whose tender mercies, might be accounted more cruel than their very cruelty itself.

Yet, even during all this time, this province (had things been properly ordered) need but, in comparison to her strength, have lifted her foot, and crush'd all the *French* force on their borders; but unused to such undertakings, and bound by *non-resisting principles* from exerting her strength, and involv'd in disputes with the proprietaries, they stood still; vainly hoping the *French* would be so moderate, as to be content with their victory over *Braddock*, or at least confine their attacks to *Virginia*: But they then saw, and felt all this was delusion, and the barbarities of the *Indian* parties headed by *French* officers: Notwithstanding all which, they continued in domestic debates, without a soldier in pay, or a penny in the treasury. In short, if the enemy had then had but 1500 men at the *Ohio*, and would have attempted it, no rashness could have been perceived in their marching down to the city of *Philadelphia*.

Thus stood our affairs on the side of the *Ohio*, when an old captain of the warriors, in the interest of the *Philadelphians*, and their ever faithful friend, whose name was *Scarrooyda* alias *Monokatoathy*, on the first notice of these misfortunes, came hastening to *Philadelphia*, together with colonel *Weiser*, the provincial interpreter, and two other *Indian* chiefs. *Scarrooyda* immediately demanded an audience of the assembly, who were then sitting, to whom he spoke in a very affecting manner.

manner. His speeches being printed, and sold about *Philadelphia*, I procured one of them, which was as follows.

BRETHREN,

“ We are once more come among you, and sincerely
 “ condole with you on account of the late bloodshed,
 “ and the awful cloud that hangs over you, and over
 “ us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly assured, that
 “ these horrid actions were committed by none of those
 “ nations that have any fellowship with us, but by cer-
 “ tain false-hearted and treacherous brethren. It grieves
 “ us more than all our other misfortunes; that any of
 “ our good friends, the *English*, should suspect us of
 “ having false hearts.

BRETHREN,

“ If you were not an infatuated people, we are 300
 “ warriors, firm to your interest; and, if you are so
 “ unjust to us, as to retain any doubts of our sincerity,
 “ we offer to put our wives, our children, and all we
 “ have into your hands, to deal with them as seemeth
 “ good to you, if we are found in the least to swerve
 “ from you. But, brethren, you must support and as-
 “ sist us, for we are not able to fight alone against the
 “ powerful nations who are coming against you; and
 “ you must this moment resolve, and give us an expli-
 “ cit answer what you will do: For, these nations have
 “ sent to desire us, as old friends, either to join them,
 “ or get out of their way, and shift for ourselves. Alas!
 “ brethren, we are sorry to leave you! We remember
 “ the many tokens of your friendship to us: But, what
 “ shall we do? We cannot stand alone, and you will
 “ not stand with us!--

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BRETHREN,

“ The time is precious. While we are here consulting with you, we know not what may be the fate of our brethren at home. We do therefore, once more invite, and request you to act like men, and be no longer as women, pursuing weak measures, that render your names despicable. If you will put the hatchet * into our hands, and send out a number of your young men in conjunction with our warriors, and provide the necessary arms, ammunition, and provisions, and likewise build some strong houses for the protection of our old men, women and children, while we are absent in war, we shall soon wipe the tears from your eyes, and make these false-hearted brethren repent their treachery and baseness, towards you, and towards us.

“ But, we must at the same time, solemnly assure you, that if you delay any longer to act in conjunction with us, or think to put us off, as usual, with uncertain hopes, you must not expect to see our faces under this roof any more. We must shift for our own safety, and leave you to the mercy of our enemies, as an infatuated people, upon whom we can have no longer dependance.”

The tears stood in the old man's eyes, while he delivered this last part; and no wonder, since the very being of his nation depended upon their joining the enemy; or our enabling them immediately to make head against them.

It was some time, however, before the assembly could be brought to consent to any vigorous measures for their own defence. Their back inhabitants lost all patience at their conduct. Until at length the governor exerted his

* See the note under tomahawk, page 10.

his utmost power, and procured the militia, money, and bills to pass. By virtue of the former, the freemen of the province were enabled to form themselves into companies, and each company by a majority of votes, by way of ballot, to chuse its own officers; viz. a captain, lieutenant, and ensign; who, if approved of, were to be commissioned by the governor. So that the *Philadelphians* were at last permitted to rise and arm themselves in their own defence. They accordingly formed themselves into companies; the governor signing to all gentlemen qualified, who had been regularly balloted, commissions for that purpose.

Captain *Davis*, was one of the first who had a company; and, being desirous of my service, in order to instruct the irregulars in their discipline, obtained from the governor, a certificate to indemnify me from any punishment which might be adjudged by the regiment to which I already belonged; for, without that, I had not gone. Our company, which consisted of 100 men, was not compleated until the 24th of *December*, 1755; when loosing no time, we next morning marched from *Philadelphia* in high spirits; resolving to shew as little quarter to the savages, as they had to many of us.

Colonel *Armstrong* had been more expeditious; for he had raised 280 provincial irregulars, and marched a little time before against the *Ohio Morians*; but, of him, more hereafter.

We arrived the 26th of *December*, at *Bethlehem*, in the forks of the river *De-la-ware*; where, being kindly received by the *Moravians*, we loaded six waggons with provisions, and proceeded on to the *Apalachian Mountains*, or *Blue-Hills*, to a town called *Kennorton-head*, which the *Moravians* had deserted on account of the *Indians*. Fifty of our men, of whom I made one, were ordered before the rest, to see whether the town was destroyed or not. Disposing them to the best advan-

tage, we marched on, till we came within five miles of the place, which we found standing entire.

Having a very uneven, rugged road to it, and not above four men able to go a-breast, we were on a sudden alarmed, by the firing of the flank-guards, which were a little in the rear of our van. The savages briskly returned their fire, and killed the ensign and ten of the men, and wounded several others.

Finding this, I being chief in command (having acted as lieutenant, and received pay as such from my first entrance, for my trouble and duty in learning the company,) ordered the men to march on with all expedition to the town, and all the way to keep a running fire on the enemy, as they had fallen on our rear.

We should have got there in very good order, had it not been for a river we had to cross, and the weather being so excessive cold, our clothes froze to our bodies as soon as we got out of the water. However, with great difficulty we reached the town, and got into the church, with the loss of twenty-seven men. There we made as good preparations for our defence as possible we could, making a great fire of the benches, seats, and what we could find therein, to dry our clothes; not esteeming it the least sacrilege or crime, upon such an emergency.

The *Indians* soon followed us into the town, and surrounding us, tried all methods to burn the church; but our continual firing kept them off for about six hours, until our powder and ball were all expended. In the night they set several houses on fire; and, we dreading the consequences of being detained there, resolved to make one bold effort, and push ourselves thro' the savages forces, which was accordingly done with the most undaunted courage. The enemy fired continually on us, during our retreat, and killed many of our men, but in their confusion many of themselves as well; it be-

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ing so very dark that we were not well able to discern our own party; so that only five of us kept together and got into the woods; the rest, whom we left behind, I doubt fell sacrifices to the savages.

The night being so excessive cold, and having but few cloaths with us out of the church, two of my comrades froze to death, before we could reach any inhabited place. In short, we did not get any relief till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived at a house that lay in the gap of the *Blue-Hills*; where our captain had arrived with the remainder of the men and waggons the day before.

The captain inquiring our success, I gave him the melancholy detail of our unfortunate expedition: Upon which, an express was immediately sent to the governor, with the account; who ordered 1600 men to march the next morning for the same place, under the command of general *Franklin*, not only to bury the dead and build a fort there, but to extirpate the savages who infested these parts, and were too powerful for our small number under captain *Davis*.

The remainder of our little party were now building a fort at the place where we lay, for our defence, untill more assistance should arrive; for we were under continual apprehensions of the *Indians* pursuing and attacking us again.

On the 9th of *January* 1756, we were reinforced by general *Franklin* and his body; and the next day set out again for *Kennorton-head*; where, when we arrived, to our great consternation, we found little occasion to bury our unhappy comrades, the swine (which in that country are vastly numerous in the woods) having devoured their bodies, and nothing but bones strewed up and down were to be seen. We there built a fort in the place, where the old church had stood, and gave it the name of fort *Allen*; this was finish'd in six days, and
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in so good a manner, that 100 men would make great resistance against a much greater number of *Indians*.

On the 18th, 1400 of us were ordered about fifteen miles distant from thence, on the frontiers of the province; where we built another fort call'd *Fort-Norris*. In our way thither, we found six men scalp'd and murdered, in a most cruel manner. By what we could discern, they had made a vigorous defence, the barrels and stocks of their guns, being broke to pieces, and themselves cut and mangled in a terrible manner.

From thence, we were ordered to march towards a place called the *Minnisinkes*, but this journey proved longer than we were aware of. The *Indians* committing great outrages in these parts, having burnt and destroyed all the houses, &c. in our way: These tragic-actions caused us to divide ourselves into several parties, who were ordered divers ways, to cut off as many of these savages as possible.

The day after this scheme was put into execution, we met with a small party, which we put to the rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all possible dispatch to save some houses we saw on fire, but on our nearer approach, found our endeavours in vain: *John Swisher*, and his family, having been before scalp'd, and burnt to ashes in his own house. On the following night, the house of *James Wallis* underwent the same fate; himself, wife, seven children, and the rest of his family, being scalp'd and burnt therein. The houses and families of *Philip Green*, and *Abraham Nairn*, suffered in the like manner. Nor did the cruelty of these barbarians stop here, but attacked the dwelling-house of *George Hunter*, esq. a gentleman of considerable worth, and a justice of the peace, who made a brave resistance, and rather than fall into the hands of these miscreants, chose to meet death in the flames; which he, his wife, and all his household consisting of sixteen in number, did with
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the utmost bravery, before any assistance could be received from our general, who had dispatched 500 of us for that purpose, on an express being sent to him that morning.

From thence we marched to the *Minisinkes*, and built *Fort Norris*. On the 9th of *March*, we set out with 1000 men to the head of the *Minisinkes*, and built another fort, which we named *Franklin*, in honour of our general. All which forts we garrison'd with as many men as we could possible spare.

After this, we were daily employed in scouring the woods from fort to fort, of these noxious creatures, the *Indians*, and in getting as much of the corn together as we could find, to prevent the savages from having any benefit therefrom.

Notwithstanding our vigilance, these villains on the 15th attacked the house of *James Graham*, but by providence, he with his wife, who had just laid in, and the young infant in her arms, (with nothing about her but her shift) made their escape to *Fort-Allen*, about fifteen miles distant. The child perished by the way, and it was matter of wonder to the whole garrison, to find either of them alive; indeed, they were in a deplorable condition, and we imagined they would expire every moment. The wife however, to our great astonishment, recover'd, but the husband did not survive above six hours after their arrival.

The house of *Isaac Cook* suffered by the flames, himself, his wife, and eight children, being scalp'd and burnt in it.

Tedious and shocking would it be to enumerate half the murders, conflagrations and outrages, committed by these hellish infidels. Let it suffice therefore, that from the year 1753, when they first began their barbarities, they had murder'd, burnt, scalp'd and destroy'd, above 3500 souls; above 1000 whereof, were unhappy inhabitants

bitants of the western part of *Philadelphia*. Men, women and children, fell alike a prey to these savages: No regard being had by them, to the tender intreaties of an affectionate parent, for a beloved child, or the infant's prayers, in behalf of his aged father and mother. Such are the miserable calamities attendant on schemes for gratifying the ambition of a tyrannic monarch, like *France*, or the weak contrivances and indolent measures, of blundering ministers and negociators----

The time of my furlow at length expiring, I prepared to set out for my regiment. Having a recommendatory letter from general *Franklin* to major *Kinnair*, as to my services, I marched forward for *New-York*: Where being arrived, I waited on the major, he being a worthy gentleman, universally beloved by the whole regiment; and, after giving him an account of all our transactions, and the hardships and labours we had gone through, I was dismissed.

After some stay there, I was ordered to proceed on my march for *Oswego* once more. But, before I go further with my own affairs, I shall just recount the result of those provincials, who went, as I mentioned before, to quell the savages, under the command of colonel *Armstrong*.

He having under his command 280 provincials, destined against the *Ohio Morians*, against whom nothing had been attempted, notwithstanding their frequent incursions and murders, penetrated 140 miles through the woods, from fort *Shirley*, on *Juniata* river, to *Kittanning* an *Indian* town on the *Ohio*, about twenty-five miles above fort *Du Quesne*, belonging to the *French*. He soon join'd the advanc'd party at the *Beaver-dams*; and, on the fourth evening, after being within six miles of *Kittanning*, the scouts discovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or four *Indians* at it. At that time, it was not thought proper to attempt surprising

prising these *Indians*, lest, if one should escape, the town might be alarm'd: Lieutenant *Hogg*, therefore, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them, until day-break; and our forces turned out of the path, to pass their fire, without disturbing them.

About three in the morning, having been guided by the *whooping* of the *Indian* warriors, at a dance in the town, they reached the river at about 100 perches below it. As soon as day appeared, the attack began; captain *Jacobs* chief of the *Indians*, gave the *war-whoop*, and defended his house bravely through the loopholes in the logs. The *Indians* generally refusing quarter, colonel *Armstrong* ordered their houses to be set on fire, which was done by the officers and soldiers with great alacrity. On this, some burst out of the houses, and attempted to reach the river, but were instantly shot down. Captain *Jacobs* in getting out of a window, was shot and scalp'd, as were also his *Squaw*, and a lad they call'd the king's son. The *Indians* had a number of spare arms in their houses loaded, which went off in quick succession, as the fire came to them; and quantities of gun-powder, which had been stor'd in every house, blew up from time to time, throwing their bodies into the air.

Eleven *English* prisoners were released, who informed the colonel, that, that very day, two batteaux of *Frenchmen*, with a large party of *De-la-ware* and *French Indians*, were to have joined captain *Jacobs*, to march and take fort *Shirley*; and that twenty-four warriors, had set out before them the preceeding evening; which proved to be the party that had kindled the fire the preceeding night; for our people returning, found lieutenant *Hogg* wounded in three places; and learned, that he had attacked the supposed party of three or four at the fire, but found them too strong for him. He kill'd

three of them, however, at the first fire, and fought them an hour; when, having lost three of his men, the rest as he lay wounded, abandon'd him and fled, the enemy pursuing. Lieutenant *Hogg* died soon after of his wounds.

Enough of these two expeditions has been said; nor, can I well tell which of the two was most successful, both losing more of their own men, than they kill'd of the enemy.

A little retrospection again on the actions and behaviour of the *Philadelphians*, and the other provinces and places in conjunction with them, may here be something necessary: For, when I arrived at *Philadelphia*, I found, that however melancholy their situation had been of late, this good effect had been obtain'd, that the most prejudiced and ignorant individual was feelingly convinced of the necessity of vigorous measures; and, besides national and public views, then, the more prevailing ones of revenge and self-interest gave a spur to their counsels. They were accordingly raising men with the utmost expedition; and had, before the end of the summer, a considerable number, though not equal to what they could furnish, having at least 45,000 men in *Pennsylvania* able to fight.

And, pursuant to agreement, some months before, the four governments of *New-England*, in conjunction with *New-York* (which last furnished 1300) had now assembled 8000 men (for the attack of fort *Frederic*) at *Albany*, 150 miles N. of *New-York*, and about 130 from *Crown-Point*, under the command of general *Winslow*. But many people dreading the cruelty of the *French*, were not so very eager to join them this year, as the last; an impress therefore of part of the militia, was ordered in *New-York* government. To prevent which, subscriptions were set on foot, to engage volunteers

teers by high bounties; so loath were they, that some got nine or twelve pounds sterling to enlist.

The 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiment of *Great-Britain* were destin'd for the campaign on the great lake *Ontario*, and mostly marched for *Oswego*, thence to be carried over in 200 great whale boats, which were then at the lake, and were built at *Schenectady* on *Mohawk's* river, and were long, round and light, as the batteaux, being flat-bottom'd and small, would not answer the navigation of the lake, where the waves were often very high. They were then, at last intended to attack fort *Frontenac*, mentioned before, and the other *French* forts on the lake. Upwards of 2000 batteau-men were employed to navigate the batteaux, each a ton burden, laden with provisions and stores from *Albany* up the *Mohawk's* river, then through *Oneyda* lake and river, down to *Oswego*. There were likewise 300 sailors hir'd and gone up from *New-York* (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four arm'd ships on the lake, built there, as I have before mention'd, the last year, for the king's service, and two others were then building; smiths, carpenters, and other artificers, having gone there for that purpose some weeks before. Such were the preparations and armaments for this campaign, but how fruitless, to our great disgrace, were soon known all over the world!

I shall not trouble the reader with a long account, of a long march I had to take from *New-York* to *Oswego*, to join my regiment, suffice it therefore, that I arrived there about the middle of *July*; but in my march thither with some recruits, we join'd colonel *Broadstreet* at *Albany*, and on the 6th of *May*, at the *Great Carrying-place*, had a skirmish with the *French* and *Indians*, wherein severals were killed and wounded on both sides; of the latter I made one. Receiving a shot through my left-hand, which intirely disabled my third and fourth

fingers; and having no hospital, or any conveniencies for the sick there, I was after having my hand dressed, in a wretched manner, sent with the next batteau to *Albany* to get it cur'd.

As soon as I was well, I set forwards for *Oswego* again. And, when arrived there, I began to make what observations I could, as to the alterations that had been made since my departure in the month of *October* preceeding. The works of *Oswego*, at this time consisted of three forts, viz. The *Old Fort*, built many years before, whose chief strength was a weak stone wall, about two feet thick, so ill cemented, that it could not resist the force of a four pound ball, and situated on the east side of the harbour; the two other forts, call'd *Fort-Ontario*, and *Fort-George*, were each of them at the distance of about 450 yards from the *Old Fort*, and situated on two eminences, which commanded it; both these as I have already observed, were begun to be built last year upon plans, which made them defensible against musquetry, and cannon of three or four pound ball only; the time not allowing works of a stronger nature to be then undertaken.

For our defence against large cannon, we entirely depended on a superior naval force upon the lake, which might have put it in our power to prevent the *French* from bringing heavy artillery against the place, as that could only be done by water carriage, which is my opinion, as well as many others. If the naval force had but done their duty, *Oswego* might have been ours to this very day, and intirely cut off the communication of the *French* from *Canada* to the *Ohio*: But if I would insist on this, as the particulars requires, I perhaps would affront some, and injure myself, all to no purpose, or of any beneficial service to recal our former losses; for that reason, I shall defer enlarging on the subject, although,

though, at the same time, I can give very good circumstances to maintain my argument, if required.

A day or two after being at *Oswego*, the fort was alarmed by hearing a firing; when on dispatching proper scouts, it was found to be the *French* and *Indians* engaging the batteau-men and sailors, convoying the provisions to *Oswego*, from one river to another. On this a detachment of 500 men were ordered out in pursuit of them, whereof I was one. We had a narrow pass in the woods to go through, where we were attacked by a great number of *Indians*, when a desperate fight began on both sides, that lasted about two hours. However, at last we gained a compleat victory, and put them intirely to the rout, killing fourteen of them, and wounding above forty. On our side we had but two men killed and six wounded. Many more would have been killed of both parties, had it not been for the thickness of the woods.

I cannot here omit recounting a most singular transaction that happened during this my second time of being there, which, though scarce credible, is absolutely true, and can be testified by hundreds, who knew, and have often seen the man; in short, one *Moglaskey* of the 50th regiment, an *Irishman*, being placed as centinel over the rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its goodness, pierced the cask, and drank till he was quite intoxicated; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his post, and fell asleep a good way from the garrison. An *Indian* scoulking that way for prey, (as is conjectured) met him, and made free with his scalp, which he plucked and carried off. The serjeant in the morning, finding him prostrate on his face, and seeing his scalp off, imagined him to be dead; but on his nearer approach, and raising him from the ground, the fellow awaked from the sound sleep he had been in, and asked the serjeant what he wanted. The serjeant quite surprised

prized at the strange behaviour of the fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that condition? He replied, *He could not tell; but that he got very drunk, and rambled he knew not whither.* The serjeant advised him to prepare for death, not having many hours to live, as he had lost his scalp. *Arrah, my dear, now* (cries he) *and are you joking me?* for he really knew nothing of his being served in the manner he was, and would not believe any accident had happened him, until seeing his clothes bloody, he felt his head, and found it to be too true, as well as having a cut from his mouth to his ear. He was immediately carried before the governor, who asking him, how he came to leave his post? He replied, *That being very thirsty, he had broached a cask of rum, and drank about a pint, which made him drunk; but if his honour would forgive him, he'd never be guilty of the like again.* The governor told him, it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead man. However, the surgeons dressed his head there, as well as they could, and then sent him in a batteau to *Albany*, where he was perfectly cured; and to the great surprize of every body, was living when I left the country. This, though so extraordinary and unparallelled an affair, I aver to be true; having several times seen the man after this accident happened to him. How his life was preserved seems a miracle, as no instance of the like was ever known.

I had forgot to mention, That before I left *Albany* the last time, upon colonel *Broadstreet's* arrival there, in his way to *Oswego*, with the provisions and forces, consisting of about 500 whale boats and batteaux, intended for the campaign on the great lake *Ontario*, mentioned before; I joined his corps, and proceeded on with the batteaux, &c.

Going up the river *Onondaga* towards *Oswego*, the batteau-men were on the 29th of *June*, attacked near the

the *Falls*, about nine miles from *Oswego*, by 500 *French* and *Indians*, who killed and wounded seventy-four of our men, before we could get on shore, which, as soon as we did, the *French* were routed, with the loss of 130 men killed, and several wounded, whom we took prisoners.

Had we known of their lying in ambush, or of their intent to attack us, the victory would have been much more compleat on our side, as the troops colonel *Broadstreet* commanded, were regular, well disciplined, and in tolerable health, whereas the *French*, by a long passage at sea and living hard after their arrival at *Canada* were much harrassed and fatigued.

However, we got all safe to *Oswego* with the batteaux and provisions, together with rigging and stores for the large vessels, excepting twenty-four cannon, six pounders, that were then at the *Great Carrying-Place*; which colonel *Broadstreet* was to bring with him, upon his next passage, from *Schenectady*; to which place, as soon as he had delivered to the quarter-master all the stores under his care, he was ordered to return with the batteaux and men, to receive the orders of major general *Ambercrombie*. In his return from *Schenectady*, 'twas expected that *Halket's* and *Dunbar's* regiments would have come with him, in order to take fort *Frontenac*, and the other *French* forts on the lake *Ontario*. But, alas! as schemes for building castles in the air, always prove abortive, for want of proper architecture and foundation, so did this scheme of ours, for want of a due knowledge of our own situation!

On the arrival of these forces, a new brigantine and sloop were fitted out; and about the same time a large snow was also launched and rigged, and only waited for her guns and some running rigging, which they expected every day by colonel *Broadstreet*; and had he returned in time with the cannon and batteau-men under his

his command, the *French* would not have dared to have appeared on the lake; but colonel *Broadstreet* happened to be detained with the batteaux at *Schenectady* for above a month, waiting for the forty-fourth regiment to march with him: The dilatoriness of this embarkation at *Schenectady* cannot be imputed to colonel *Broadstreet*, because general *Shirley* waited with impatience for the arrival of lord *Loudon Campbell* from *England*; and when his lordship landed at *New-York*, he, in a few days after, proceeded to *Albany*, where his lordship took the command of the army from general *Shirley*, and upon comparing, and considering the bad situation of his forces, and of the different governments upon the continent were in, his lordship, with advice of several other experienced officers, thought himself not in a condition to proceed on any enterprize for that season, no further than to maintain our ground at *Oswego*; for which purpose, colonel *Broadstreet* was immediately ordered off with the batteaux and provisions, as also, the foresaid regiments; but before *Broadstreet* arrived at the *Great Carrying-Place*, *Oswego* was taken with all the ships of war, although our naval force was far superior to the *French*.

Before I relate the attack of *Oswego*, I shall review a little what the *French* were doing during these our dilatory, pompous proceedings.

The marquis de *Vaudreuil*, governor and lieutenant-general of *New-France*, whilst he provided for the security of the frontiers of *Canada*, was principally attentive to the lakes. Being informed that we were making vast preparations at *Oswego* for attacking *Niagara* and *Frontenac*, he took and razed in the month of *March*, the fort where we had formed our principal magazine, and in *June* following destroyed, on the river of *Chonagan* or *Oswego*, some of our vessels, and made some prisoners. The success of these two expeditions

ditions encouraged him to act offensively, and to attack us at *Oswego*. This settlement they pretended, and still insist on, to be an incroachment, or invasion, which we had made in a time of profound peace, and against which, they said, they had continually remonstrated, during our blundering, negotiating *Lawyer's* residence at *France*. It was at first, say they, only a fortified magazine; but in order to avail themselves of its advantageous situation in the centre almost of the *French* colonies, the *English* added, from time to time, several new works, and made it consist of three forts, as above described.

The troops designed for this expedition by the *French* amounted to near 5000 men, 1300 of which were regulars. To prevent his design being discovered, M. de *Vaudreuil* pretended in order the better to deceive us, who had so long before been blind, that he was providing only for the security of *Niagara* and *Frontenac*. The marquis de *Montcalm*, who commanded on this occasion, arrived the 29th of *July* at fort *Frontenac*; and having given the necessary directions for securing his retreat, in case it should have been rendered inevitable, by a superior force; sent out two vessels, one of twelve, and the other of sixteen guns, to cruise off *Oswego*, and posted a chain of *Canadians* and *Indians* on the road between *Oswego* and *Albany*, to intercept our couriers. All the forces, and the vessels, with the artillery and stores, being arrived in the bay of *Nixoure*, the place of general rendezvous, the Marquis de *Montcalm*, ordered his advance guard to proceed to a creek, called, *Anse aux Cabannes*, three leagues from *Oswego*. But,---

To carry on this account the more accurate and intelligible to the reader, I shall recite the actions of the *French* and ourselves together, as a more clear and suc-

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cinct manner, of making those unacquainted with the art of war, more sensible of this important affair.

Colonel *Mercer*, who was then commanding officer of the garrison at *Oswego*, having on the sixth of *August*, intelligence of a large encampment of *French* and *Indians*, about twelve miles off, dispatched one of the schooners, with an account of it to captain *Bradley*, who was then on a cruize with the large brigantine and two sloops; at the same time, desiring him to cruize as far to the eastward as he could, and to endeavour to prevent the approach of the *French* on the lake; but meeting the next day with a small gale of wind, the large brigantine was drove on shore near *Oswego*, in attempting to get into the harbour; of which misfortune, the *Indians* immediately gave M. de *Montcalm*, the *French* general notice, who took that opportunity of transporting his heavy cannon to about a mile and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwise have done, had not there been some neglect on our side.

For on the 10th, the first division of the *French* being arrived at *Anse aux Cabannes*, at two o'clock in the morning; the van-guard proceeded at four in the afternoon by land, across woods, to another creek within half a league of *Oswego*, in order to favour the debarkation. At mid-night their first division repaired to this creek, and there erected a battery on the lake *Ontario*.

Colonel *Mercer*, in the morning of the 10th, on some canoes being seen to the eastward, sent out the small schooner to make discovery of what they were; she was scarce half a mile from the fort, before she discovered a very large encampment, close under the opposite point, being the first division of the *French* troops above-mentioned. On this, the two sloops (the large brigantine being still on shore) were sent out with orders, if possible, to annoy the enemy; but this was to no purpose; the enemy's cannon being large and well pointed,
hulled

hulled the vessels almost every shot, while theirs fell short of the shore.

This day and the next, the enemy were employed in making gabions, fauciflons, and fascines, and in cutting a road cross the woods, from the place of landing, to the place where the trenches were to be opened: And, the second division of the enemy arriving on the 11th, in the morning, with the artillery and provisions, the same immediately landed without any opposition. Tho' dispositions were made for opening the trenches on the 10th at night, it was midnight before they could begin the trench, which was rather a parallel, of about 100 *Toises* * in front, and opened at the distance of 90 *Toises* from the foss of fort *Ontario*, in ground embarrassed with trunks of trees.

About five in the morning of the 11th, this parallel was finished, and the workmen began to erect the batteries. Thus was the place invested by about 5000 men, and thirty-two pieces of cannon, from twelve to eighteen pounders, besides several large brass mortars and hoyets, (among which artillery was part of general *Braddock's*). About noon they began the attack of fort *Ontario*, with small arms, which was briskly returned. All this day the garrison was employed on the West-side of the river, in repairing the batteries on the South-side of the *Old-Fort*.

The next morning, (the 12th,) at day-break, a large number of *French* batteaux were discovered on the lake, in their way to join the enemy's camp; on which, colonel *Mercer* ordered the two sloops to be again sent out, with directions to get between the batteaux and the camp, but before our vessels came up, the batteaux had secured themselves under the fire of their cannon.

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* A *Toise* is a *French* measure, and contains about two fathom or six feet in length,

In the evening, a detachment was made of 100 men of the 50th (general *Pepperell's*) regiment, and 126 of the *New-Jersey* provincials, under the command of colonel *Schuyler*, to take possession of the fort on the hill, to the Westward of the *Old-Fort*, and under the direction of the engineer, Mr. *M'Keller* were to put it into the best state of defence they could; in which work, they were employed all the following night.

The enemy on the East-side continued their approaches to the fort *Ontario*, but with their utmost efforts for a long time they could not bring their cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their cannon with great expedition, next morning (the 13th) about ten o'clock, to a battery erected within sixty yards from it; they played them very hotly on the garrison, notwithstanding the constant fire kept on them, and the loss of their principal engineer, who was killed in the trenches. A council of war, was immediately held by the officers of general *Pepperell's* regiment, who observing the mortars were beginning to play, concluded it most advisable to quit fort *Ontario*, and join colonel *Schuyler's* regiment at fort *George* (or fort *Rascal*;) and an account of this latter battery being sent to colonel *Mercer*, by the commandant of the enemy, ordering him to evacuate the fort, they accordingly did, about three in the afternoon, destroying the cannon, ammunition, and provisions therein, and managed their retreat so as to pass the river, and join the troops at the West-side without the loss of a man. These troops being about 370, were immediately ordered to join colonel *Schuyler*, which they accordingly did, and were employed all the following night in completing the works of that fort.

M. *Montcalm* immediately took possession of fort *Ontario*, and ordered the communication of the parallel to be continued to the banks of the river, where, in the beginning of the night, they began a grand-battery,
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placed in such a manner, that it could not only batter fort *Oswego*, and the way from thence to fort *George*, but also the intrenchment of *Oswego*.

In the morning of the 13th, the large brigantine being off the rocks, and repaired, a detachment of eighty men of the garrison was put on board of her and the two sloops, in order to go out immediately, but the wind continuing to blow directly into the harbour, rendered it impossible for them to get out before the place was surrendered. This night, as well as the night before, parties of the enemy's irregulars made several attempts to surprize our advance guards and centinels, on the West-side of the river, but did not succeed in any of them.

The enemy were employed this night in bringing up their cannon, and raising a battery. On our side, we kept a constant fire of cannon and shells from the *Old Fort*, and works about it. The cannon which most annoyed the enemy, were four pieces, which we revers'd on the plat-form of an earthen work, which surrounded the *Old Fort*, and which was intirely enfiladed by the enemy's battery on the opposite shore: In this situation, without the least cover, the train, assisted by a detachment of fifty of *Shirley's* regiment, behaved remarkably well.

At day-break, on the 14th, we renewed our fire on that part of the opposite shore, where we had the evening before, observed the enemy at work, in raising the battery.

The enemy in three columns, consisting of 2500 *Canadians* and savages, crossed the river, some by swimming, and others by wading, with the water up to their middles, in order to invest and attack the old fort. This bold action, by which they intirely cut off the communication of the two forts; the celerity with which the works were carried on, in ground that we thought impracticable;

practicable; a continual return of our fire from a battery of ten cannon, twelve pounders; and their preparing a battery of mortars and hoyets, made colonel *Mercer* think it adviseable (he not knowing their numbers) to order colonel *Schuyler* with 500 men, to oppose them, which would accordingly have been carried into execution, and consequently, every man of the 500 cut off, had not colonel *Mercer* been kill'd by a cannon-ball, a few minutes after. The resolution of this valiant colonel, seem'd to be determined to oppose the *French* to the last extremity, and to maintain his ground at *Oswego*, but his final doom came on so unexpectedly, that his loss was universally regreted.

About ten o'clock, the enemy's battery was ready to play; at which time, all our places of defence, were either enfiladed, or ruined by the constant fire of their cannon; fort *Rascal* or *George*, in particular, having at that time no guns, and scarce in a condition to defend itself against small arms; with 2500 irregulars on our backs, ready to storm us on that side, and 2000 of their regulars as ready to land in our front, under the fire of their cannon. Whereas,

Fort *Rascal* might have been made a very defensible fortress, lying on a hill, and the ascent to it so steep, that had an enemy been ever so numerous, they must have suffered greatly in an attempt to storm it. Why it was not in a better state, it becomes not me to say, but matters were so.

And in this situation we were, when colonel *Littlehales*, who succeeded colonel *Mercer* in the command, called a council of war, who were, with the engineers, unanimously of opinion, that the works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no means prudent to risque a storm with such unequal numbers.

The chamade was accordingly ordered to be beat, and the firing ceas'd on both sides; yet the *French* were
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not idle, but improved this opportunity to bring up more cannon, and advance the main body of their troops within musquet-shot of the garrison, and prepared every thing for a storm. Two officers were sent to the *French* general, to know what terms he would give; the marquis de *Montcalm* made answer, That they might expect whatever terms were consistent with the service of his *Most Christian* majesty: He accordingly agreed to the following.

Article I. “ The garrison shall surrender prisoners of war, and shall be conducted from hence to *Montreal*, where they shall be treated with humanity, and every one shall have treatment agreeable to their respective ranks, according to the custom of war.

II. “ Officers, and soldiers, and individuals, shall have their baggage and cloaths, and they shall be allowed to carry them along with them.

III. “ They shall remain prisoners of war, until they are exchanged.

Given at the camp before Oswego,
August 14, 1756.

MONTCALM,

By virtue of this capitulation, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and the *French* immediately took possession of *Oswego*, and fort *George*, which they entirely destroyed, agreeable to their orders, after removing the artillery, war-like stores, and provisions.

But, to describe the plunder, havock and devastation, made by the *French*, as well as the savages, who rushed in by thousands, is impossible. For notwithstanding the *Christian* promise made by the general of his
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Most Christian majesty, they all behav'd more like infernal beings, than creatures in human shapes. In short, not contented with surrendering upon the above terms, they scalp'd and killed all the sick and wounded in the hospitals; mangling, butchering, cutting, and chopping off their heads, arms, legs, &c. with spades, hatchets, and other such diabolical instruments; treating the whole with the utmost cruelty, notwithstanding the repeated intercessions of the defenceless sick and wounded for mercy; which were, indeed, piteous enough to have softened any heart possessed of the minutest particle of humanity!

Here, I cannot help observing, that notwithstanding what has been said of the behaviour of the officers of these (the 50th and 51st) regiments, I must, with the greatest truth, give them the characters of brave, but, I wish I could say, experienced men; every one of them, that I had an opportunity of observing, during the siege, behaving with the utmost courage and intrepidity. Nor, in this place, can I omit particularly naming *James Campbell*, and ensigns *Evern* and *Hickes*, who assisted with the greatest spirit and alacrity, the private men at the great guns. But, for such an handful of men as our garrisons then consisted of, and the works being of such a weak, and defenceless nature, to have made a longer defence, or have caused the enemy to raise the siege, would have been such an instance, as *England*, for many years, never hath experienced; and, I am afraid, will be many more, before it will, for reasons that are too obvious.

The quantity of stores and ammunition we then had in the three forts, is almost incredible. But of what avail are powder and ball, if walls and ramparts are defenceless, and men insufficient to make use of them. In short, the *French* by taking this place, made themselves masters of the following things; all which were immediately

ly sent to *Frontenac*, viz. Seven pieces of brass cannon; nineteen, fourteen, and twelve pounders; forty-eight iron cannon, of nine, six, five, three, and two pounders; a brass mortar of nine inches, four twelfths, and thirteen others of six and three inches; forty-seven swivel guns; 23,000lb. of gun-powder; 8000lb. of lead and musquet balls; two thousand nine hundred and fifty cannon balls; one hundred and fifty bombs, of nine inches, and three hundred more, of six inches diameter; one thousand four hundred and seventy-six grenadoes; one thousand and seventy musquets; a vessel pierc'd for eighteen guns; the brigantine of sixteen, a goelette of ten, a batteaux of ten, (the sloops already mention'd) another of eight guns, a skiff of eighteen swivels, and another burnt upon the stocks; seven hundred and four barrels of biscuit, one thousand three hundred and eighty-six firkins of bacon and beef; seven hundred and twelve firkins of meal; thirty-two live oxen; fifteen hogs, and a large sum of money, in the military chest, amounting, as the *French* said, to eighteen thousand five hundred and ninety-four livres.

On the 16th, they began to remove us; the officers were first sent in batteaux, and two hundred soldiers a day afterwards, till the whole were gone, being carried first to *Montreal*, and from thence to *Quebec*. Our duty in the batteaux, till we reached the first place, was very hard and slavish: And, during the time we were on the lake, or river *St. Laurence*, it appear'd very easy and feasible for commodore *Bradley*, (had he thought proper) to have destroyed all the enemy's batteaux, and have prevented them from ever landing their cannon, within forty miles of the fort. But he knew his own reasons for omitting this piece of service best.

Our party arriving at *Montreal* in *Canada*, on the 28th; we were that night secured in the fort, as were

the rest as they came in. The *French* used various means to win some of our troops over to their interest, or at least to do their work in the fields, which many refused, among whom was myself; who were then conducted on board a ship, and sent to *Quebec*; where, on arriving the 5th of *September*, we were lodged in a goal, and kept for the space of one month.

During this our captivity, many of our men, rather than ly in a prison, went out to work, and assist the *French* in getting in their harvest; they having then, scarce any people left in that country, but old men, women, and children, so that the corn was continually falling into the stubble, for want of hands to reap it: But, those who did go out, in two or three days, chose confinement again, rather than liberty on such terms, being almost starv'd, having nothing in the country to live on, but dry bread, whereas, we in the prison were each of us allowed two pounds of bread, and half a pound of meat a day, and otherwise treated with a good deal of humanity.

Eighteen soldiers, were all the guard they had to place over us, who being greatly fatigued with hard duty, and dreading our rising on them, (which had we had any arms, we might easily have done, and ravaged the country round, as it was then intirely defenceless) and the town's people themselves fearing the consequences of having such a number of men in a place where provisions were at that time very scarce and dear, they thought of sending us away, the most eligible way of keeping themselves from famine, and accordingly put 500 of us on board a vessel for *England*.

But, before I continue the account of our voyage home to our native country, I shall just make a short retrospection on the consequences which attended the loss of *Oswego*, as appeared to us, and the rest of the people.

people at *Quebec*, who knew that part of *America*, to which, this important place was a safeguard.

As soon as *Oswego* was taken, our only communication from the *Mohawk's* river, to the lake *Oneida*, was stopt up, by filling the place at *Wood's Creek* with great logs and trees, for many miles together. A few days afterwards, the forts at the *Great Carrying Place*, and then our most advanced post into the country of the *Six Nations*, which I have before given a short account of, (and where there were at that time above three thousand men, including one thousand two hundred batteau-men; and which still gave the *Six Nations* some hopes that we would defend their country against the *French*) were abandoned and destroyed, and the troops, which were under the command of general *Webb*, retreated to *Burnet's* field, and left the country, and the *Six Nations* to the mercy of the enemy.

The *French*, immediately after the taking of *Oswego*, demolish'd (as is said before) all the works there, and return'd with their prisoners and booty to *Ticonderoga*, to oppose our provincial army under the command of general *Winslow*, who had shamefully been kept, in expectation of the dilatory arrival of lord *Loudon*, from attacking *Crown-Point*, while the enemy were weak, and it was easily in our power to have beat them.

The consequences of the destruction of our forts at the *Great Carrying-Place*, and general *Webb's* retreating to *Burnet's* field, is now, alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with *American* affairs. The *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, undoubtedly, looked upon it as abandoning them, and their country to the *French*; for they plainly saw that we had no strong hold near them, and that (by the place at *Wood's Creek*, being stopp'd up,) we could not, if we would, afford them any assistance at *Onondaga*, *Cayuga*, and in the *Seneca's* country, which were their chief castles: That, the

forts begun by us, in those countries, were left unfinished, and therefore could be of no use to them, and which, if we had kept the *Carrying-Place*, we might have finish'd, and given them still hopes of our being able to defend.

But despairing of our being further serviceable to them, those *Iroquois*, who were before our friends, and some of the others, have indeed deserted us, and the consequence of such their junctures with the *French*, has begun already to be felt in the loss of *Fort-George* on lake *Sacrament*.

The fine country on the *Mohawk's* river down to *Albany*, was by this step left open to the ravages of the enemy, and an easy passage open'd to the *French* and their *Indians*, into the provinces of *Pensylvania*, and *New-Jersey*, by the way of *Susquehanna* and *De-laware* rivers, which were before cover'd by our settlements on the *Mohawk's* river, and the *Six Nations*. To conclude, it left the *French* without the least fear of our being able to give them the least interruption in their passage through lake *Ontario*, and lake *Erie*, to the frontiers of *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and all the southern country.

Whether these my animadversions are true, or not, What has been since transacted in these parts, and the present campaign there, will evince.

I shall in the last place, give a concise account of the climates, produce, trade, &c. of *North-America*, and first,

OF NEW-ENGLAND.

The province of *New-England* appears to be vastly extensive, being about 400 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth, situated between 69 and 73 deg. W. Long. and between 41 and 46 deg. N. Lat. It was
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first settled by the *Independents*, a little before the commencement of the civil wars in *England*: They transported themselves thither, rather than they would communicate with the church of *England*.

The lands next the sea in *New-England*, are generally low, and the soil sandy, but farther up into the country it rises into hills, and on the North-east it is rocky and mountainous: The winters are much severer here than in *Old-England*, though it lies 9 or 10 degrees more south, but they have usually a clearer sky, and more settled weather, both in winter and summer than in *Old-England*; and though their summers are shorter, the air is considerably hotter while it lasts. The winds are very boisterous in the winter season, and the North-wind blowing over a long tract of frozen and uncultivated countries, with several fresh-water lakes, makes it excessive cold. Their rivers are sometimes congealed in a night's time; the climate is generally healthful and agreeable to *English* constitutions.

The fruits of *Old-England* come to great perfection here, particularly peaches, which are planted-trees; and we have commonly 1200 or 1400 fine peaches on such a tree at one time; nay, of the fruit of one single apple-tree, in one season, nine barrels of cyder have been made. *English* wheat, I find, does not thrive here, within 40 or 50 miles of *Boston*; but farther up into the country they have it in great plenty, and I think, it comes to the same perfection as in *Britain*. Now why wheat should not grow near this city, I confess, I can assign no reason that will fully satisfy the reader's curiosity. The conjectures upon it are various: Some venture to say, That it was occasioned by the unjust persecution of the *Quakers*, the *Independents* having vented their spleen against them in a way the most rigorous, and in flat contradiction to the laws of Christianity. All other grain; but wheat, thrives in this place with great success;
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in particular, *Indian-corn*, one grain whereof frequently produces 1200, and sometimes 2000 grains. This corn is of three different colours, *viz.* blue, white and yellow.

OF NEW-YORK.

The situation of this province is between 72 and 76 West long. and between 41 and 44 North lat. being about 200 miles in length and 100 miles in breadth. The lands, in the *Jerseys* and South-part of *New-York*, are low and flat; but as you ascend 20 or 30 miles up *Hudson's* river, the country is rocky and mountainous. The air is much milder here in winter than in *New-England*, and in summer, it is pretty much the same. The produce and trade of *New-York*, and the *Jerseys* consist in cattle and a good breed of horses. They have plenty of wheat and other grain, such as *Indian-corn*, buck-weed, oats, barley, and rye. It abounds also with store of fish: They supply the sugar-islands with flour, salt-beef, pork, salt-fish, and timber-planks, in return for the produce raised there.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The extent of this colony is 200 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth. The soil is much better than in *Jersey*, chiefly consisting of a black mold; the country rises gradually as in the adjacent provinces, having the *Apalachian* mountains on the West, and is divided into six counties. The air, it lying in the 40 deg. of N. lat. is near the same as in *New-York*, and very healthy to *English* constitutions. The produce and merchandize of *Pennsylvania* consists in horses, pipe-staves, beef, pork, salt-fish, skins, furs, and all sorts of grain, *viz.* Wheat, rye, pease, oats, barley, buck-weed, *Indian-*

dian-corn, *Indian*-pease, beans, pot-ashes, wax, &c. and in return for these commodities, they import from the *Caribee* islands, and other places, rum, sugar, molasses, silver, negroes, salt and wine; and from *Great-Britain*, household goods, cloathing of all sorts, hardware, &c. The nature of the soil in *Pensylvania*, the *Jersey* and *New-York*, is extremely proper to produce hemp, flax, &c.

If the government of *Pensylvania*, since the death of its first proprietor *William Penn*, had taken proper methods to oblige the traders to deal justly with the *Indians*, whose tempers, when exasperated with resentment, are more savage than the hungry lion, these disasters might have been, in a good degree, prevented.

I intend to conclude this argument in a few words, and shall endeavour to do justice on both sides, by adhering strictly to truth. Know therefore, that within these late years, the *Indians* being tolerably acquainted with the nature of our commerce, and detected the roguery of some of the traders, whereupon, they lodged many and grievous complaints to colonel *Weiser*, the interpreter between them and the *English*, of the injurious and fraudulent usage they had received for several years backwards from white people, who had cheated them out of their skins and furs, not giving them one quarter their value for them.

Likewise, they remonstrated, that, whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by. Game was now become very scarce, because the whites practised it so much on their ground, destroy their prey. Colonel *Weiser*, their interpreter, advised them to bring down their skins and furs to *Philadelphia* themselves, promising that he would take proper care to see their goods vended to their advantage. Whereupon they did so, in pursuance of his instructions, and finding it their interest, resolved to continue in the way
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he had chalked out for them; for now they were supplied with every thing they wanted from the merchants shops, at the cheapest rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the *Indians*, that they had been long imposed on by the traders, and therefore, they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and shyness of the *Indians* was very disagreeable to several gentlemen of the province, who were nearly interested in that species of commerce.

Accordingly, in the years 1753 and 1754, some of the traders had the assurance to renew their friendship with them, when, instead of remitting them clothes and other necessaries, as had been usual, and were most proper for them, they, with insidious purposes, carried them large quantities of rum in small casks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under colour of giving it them *gratis*. In this manner were the savages inveigled into liquor by the Whites, who took the opportunity while they were intoxicated, of going off with their skins and furs; but the natives, recovering from the debauch, soon detected the villainy, and in revenge, killed many of the traders, and went directly over to the *French*, who encouraged them to slay every *English* person they could meet with, and destroy their houses by fire, giving them orders to spare neither man, woman nor child. Besides, as a further incitement to diligence in this bloody task, they promised the savages the reward of 15*l.* sterl. for every scalp they should take, on producing the same before any of his *Most Christian* majesty's officers, civil, or military.

Thus our perfidious enemies instigated those unreasonable barbarians, to commence acts of depredation, violence and murder on the several inhabitants in *North-America* in 1754, and more especially in *Pensylvania*, as knowing it to be the most defenceless province on the
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continent. This consideration prompted the savage race to exhaust their malicious fury on it in particular.

OF MARYLAND.

This country extends about 150 miles in length, and 137 miles in breadth. The lands are low and flat next the sea; towards the heads of rivers they rise into hills, and beyond by the *Apalachian Mountains*, which are exceeding high. The air of this province is excessive hot some part of the summer, and equally cold in the winter, when the North-west wind blows; but the winters are not of so long duration here as in some other colonies adjoining to it. In the spring of the year, they are infested with thick heavy fogs, that rise from the low lands, which render the air more unhealthy for *English* constitutions; and hence it is, that in the afore-said season, the people are constantly afflicted with agues.

The produce of this country is chiefly tobacco, planted and cultivated here with much application, and nearly the same success as in *Virginia*, and their principal trade with *England* is in that article. It also affords them most sorts of the grain, and fruits of *Europe* and *America*.

OF VIRGINIA.

The extent of this province is computed to be 260 miles in length, and 220 miles in breadth, being mostly low, flat land. For one hundred miles up the country, there is scarce a hill or a stone to be seen. The air and seasons (it lying between 36 and 39 of N. Lat.) depend very much on the wind, as to heat and cold, dryness and moisture. The North and North-west winds are very nitrous and piercing cold, or else boisterous and stormy: The South, and South-east winds,

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hazy

hazy and sultry hot. In winter they have a fine, clear air, which renders it very pleasant: The frosts are short; but some times so very sharp that rivers are froze over 3 miles broad. Snow often falls in large quantities; but seldom continues above two or three days at most.

The soil, though generally sandy and shallow, produces tobacco of the best quality, in great abundance. The peoples usual food is *Indian-corn* made into hommony, boiled to a pulp, and comes the nearest to buttered-wheat of any thing I can compare it to. They have horses, cows, sheep, and hogs in prodigious plenty, many of the last running wild in the woods. The regulation kept here is much the same as in *New-England*; every man from 16 to 60 years of age, is enlisted into the militia, and mustered once a year, at a general review, and four times a year by troops and companies. Their military complement, by computation, amounts to about 30,000 effective men, the collective number of the inhabitants, men, women, and children to 100,500, and including servants and slaves, to twice that number.

OF CAROLINA.

This colony is computed to extend 660 miles in length; but its breadth is unknown. The lands here are generally low and flat, and not a hill to be seen from *St. Augustine* to *Virginia*, and a great way beyond. 'Tis mostly covered with woods where the planters have not cleared it. About 100 miles west of the coast, it shoots up into eminences, and continues to rise gradually all along to the *Apalachian Mountains*, which are about 160 miles distant from the ocean. The North-parts of *Carolina* are very uneven, but the ground is extremely proper for producing wheat; and all other
sorts

sorts of grain that grow in *Europe* will come to great perfection here. The South-parts of *Carolina*, if properly cultivated, might be made to produce silk, wine, and oil. This country yields large quantities of rice, of which they yearly ship off to other colonies about 80,000 barrels, each barrel containing 400 wt. besides, they make abundance of tar, pitch, and turpentine. They carry on also a great trade with deer-skins, and furs, to all places of *Europe*, which the *English* receive from the *Indians* in barter for guns, powder, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, beads, rum, tobacco, coarse-cloath, &c.

The *English* chapmen carry these pack-horses 5 or 600 miles into the country, West of *Charles-Town*; but most of the commerce is confined within the limits of the *Creek* and *Cherokee* nations, which do not lie above 350 miles from the coast. The air is very temperate and agreeable both summer and winter. *Carolina* is divided into two distinct provinces, viz. North and South-*Carolina*.

OF *NOVASCOTIA*.

This place extends about 600 miles in length, and 450 in breadth: The air is pretty much the same as in *Old-England*: The soil is, for the most part, barren; but where it is cleared and cultivated, it affords good corn and pasture. Here is fine timber, and fit for building, from whence pitch and tar may be extracted. Here also hemp and flax will grow, so that this country will be capable of furnishing all manner of naval stores. It abounds likewise with deer, wild-fowl, and all sorts of game. On the coast is one of the finest cod-fisheries in the world. *European* cattle, viz. Sheep, oxen, swine, horses, &c. they have in great abundance. The winters are very cold, their frosts being sharp and of a long

duration: Their summers are moderately hot, so that the climate, in the main, seems to be agreeable to *English* constitutions.

OF CANADA.

I shall close the description of the *American* colonies, with a short account of the soil and produce of *French Canada*. Its extent is, according to their map, 1800 miles in length, and 1260 in breadth. The soil, in the low lands near the river St. *Laurence* will, indeed, raise wheat; but, withal, I found it so shallow, that it would not produce that grain above two years, unless it was properly manured. About 20 miles from the said river, so hilly and mountainous is the country, that nothing but *Indians* and wild ravenous beasts resort there. However, they have plenty of rye, *Indian-corn*, buck-weed, and oats; likewise of horses, cows, sheep, swine, &c. But I have observed, that fruits of any kind do not come to such perfection here, as in some of the *English* settlements, which is owing to the long duration and excessive cold of their winters. The summer is short and temperately hot. The climate, in general, is healthy and agreeable to *European* constitutions. And so much for the provinces in *North-America*.

It is now high time to return to the embarkation at *Quebec*. Five hundred of us, being to be sent to *England*, were put on board *La Renomme*, a *French* packet-boat, captain *Dennis Vitree* commander: We sailed under a flag of truce, and though the *French* behaved with a good deal of politeness, yet we were almost starved for want of provisions. One biscuit, and two ounces of pork a day, being all our allowance, and half dead with cold, having but few clothes, and the vessel being so small, that the major part of us were obliged to be upon deck in all weathers. After a passage of six weeks,

weeks, we at last, to our great joy, arrived at *Plymouth* on the sixth of *November*, 1756. But there our troubles and hardships were not, as we expected, put to a period for some time; scruples arising to the commissaries and admiral there, about taking us on shore, as there was no cartel agreed on between the *French* and *English*, we were confined on board, until the determination of the lords of the admiralty should be known; lying there in a miserable condition seven or eight days, before we received orders to disembark, which, when we were permitted to do, being ordered from thence, in different parties to *Totnes*, *Kingsbridge*, *Newton-Busbet*, *Newton-Abbot*, in *Devonshire*, I was happy in being quartered at *Kingsbridge*, where I met with such civility and entertainment, as I had for a long time been a stranger to.

In about four months we were again ordered to *Plymouth-Dock*, to be draughted into other regiments; where, on being inspected, I was, on account of the wound I had received in my hand, discharged as *incapable* of further service: And, was allowed the sum of six shillings to carry me home to *Aberdeen*, near the place of my nativity; but finding that sum insufficient to subsist me half the way, I was obliged to make my application to the honourable gentlemen of the city of *York*, where, on considering my necessity and reviewing my manuscript on the transactions of the *Indians*, herein before mentioned, thought proper to have it printed for my own benefit, which they cheerfully subscribed unto. And after disposing of several of my books through the shire, I took the first opportunity of going in quest of my relations at *Aberdeen*, where I received very barbarous usage and ill treatment, occasioned by complaining against the illegal practice of *kidnapping*, in the beginning of my book, which I shall hereafter finally describe in the following pages.

A DISCOURSE ON KIDNAPPING.

With proper Directions for Tradesmen, and others, to avoid slavery, when transported from their native country by the instigation of perfidious traders.

THE following lines when duly considered, will be of no difficulty for the meanest capacity to understand, as the subject is of no other design, than intirely calculated to open the eyes of the neighbouring poor, who have suffered tribulations, and troubled minds, for the loss of their children; which nature binds every christian father or mother, to be as valuable to them, as their own lives. And as it is absurd to imagine, that any parents would dispose of their own flesh and blood to strangers who make a prey of innocent children, to maintain their wealth and grandeur, where the unhappy victims are left in the remotest parts of the world, where they can meet with no redress for the injuries done to them.

But if the misconduct of some people, were but printed in their foreheads, themselves, as well as their actions, would look odious to the world; but to prevent discovering any of their former, subtle contrivances, would much rather hazard their own souls, or banish the person so manifesting the truth against them, from the place of his nativity: Sensible I am of what I have already described against my first prosecutors, taliates with the truth in every particular, wherein many as well as myself, hath been led into slavery and bondage for a number of years, and obliged to put up with the resentment and arbitrary controul of strangers, when separated from our dearest relations, which at such times as this, is not capable to afford us the least comfort or relief.

relief. Hard fate to suffer this, harder still to be prosecuted for telling the interesting tale. I speak this by experience, to the shame of some in *Aberdeen*, near the place of my nativity, where I had gone in quest of my relations, which, after so long and strange an absence, my appearance most occur with satisfaction to all my friends, who have been deprived of the comfortable enjoyment of my person, from the years of my infancy, which they undoubtedly expected to imbrace. KIDNAPPING, followed by those monsters of impiety, for the lucre of gain, may be compared to the savage conduct before-mentioned; who, for to maintain their wealth and grandeur, would cut, mangle and barbarously destroy all innocent families they met with. What less guilt can be upon kidnapper's consciences, than those of the savage race, who boast not of humanity; and if they do such crimes, it is to their enemies, for the sake of plunder. What can some of the *worthy* merchants of *Aberdeen* say for themselves; have not they been guilty of that villainous trade, contrary to the laws of God, and all civilized nations, in such an unlawful manner, that the blood of the innocent cries against them for remedy, and as it is certain this execrable practice called Kidnapping, was put into execution about the year 1740, by four or five merchants in the city, some of which have since deserted their country, for reasons too well known; much about this time, I remember there was idle fellows employed by those worthy undertakers, to cajole men, women and children, to serve as slaves in the plantations abroad. The old people being ignorant what manner to take for their own advantage; rely intirely on the fair promise of the merchants, which delusions proved fatal to many of the unhappy victims, that were innocently led into captivity, much more infants from six years old to fourteen, that were not capable to contract for themselves, and were sent off without the consent or knowledge

knowledge of any one of their parents, who doubtless would lament their loss, and in all probability they could imagine nothing else the matter, but some untimely end were the occasion, in some unlucky place or other, where death has closed their eyes, and the fowls of the air, or the fishes of the sea, have concealed their carcases from the face of the earth. These dreadful apprehensions, we may well suppose, filled my relations with tears, when not knowing the condition their poor child was in.

What heart can even think of this, and be unmoved with pity, to see such monsters of impiety depriving parents of the comfortable enjoyment of their children; by securing them in the concealed places of the city, till such times they had got in their complement, designed for that vile and wicked purpose, which myself, as well as others, have suffered very considerably in, by the false and critical schemes of politic traders, who for some years bygone, endeavoured to deceive the world, with their cunning inventions, but some of them are now fallen into the snares of their own imaginations, and no wonder, for the curse of many followed their proceedings. To carry on their trade more effectually, I remember there were villains employed to cajole young children, by giving them a penny, or a half-penny, making them believe that they were then listed, which infants were put into confinement, till such time as they got the opportunity of sending them to the plantations in *America*. I being one of these unhappy youths so treated, when in the years of my infancy, not capable to contract for myself, was sent off with many others, without the consent or knowledge of any of my relations.

To subjoin to this account for the better understanding and satisfaction of the inquisitive reader, I shall only submit myself to the following queries.

1. Whether or no, this may not be called Kidnapping, when

when children are taken from their parents without their consent, in a state of infancy, and not capable to avouch for themselves, at the same time confined to prison, to conceal them from their friends.

2. If these their proceedings were according to law, or agreeable to the inclination of the persons so imprisoned, what needs there be any confinement in the case, when a person inlists himself into any service as a volunteer, what occasion is there to put him under any arbitrary controul; but my antagonists well knew the impracticability of children abiding to any obligation extorted on them, wherefore we were imprisoned on board of ships, and other places in the city convenient for that use, until they had got in their complement, suitable for that design.

By this you may easily see the christian disposition of my adversaries, which they now boast so much of; together with their many fair promises, never after performed to any, much less to infants deluded from their distant places of abode, and sent as slaves to the plantations, where they are obliged to put up with the imposition and arbitrary controul of their masters, some of which have as little regard to Christianity, as the former herein mentioned.

To continue this narrative the more succinct, for the edification of the reader; it may not be improper to give you some intelligence of their usage when sold in the plantations, as well as a concise account of the regard the merchants have to their promises to you, the deceitfulness of their proceedings, has been so detrimental to me, and others, that I hope this will be taken as a curious piece of information to the public, who have not concerned themselves with any such erroneous principles; and, to prevent my countrymen from suffering the like hostilities for the future, I shall with the greatest truth and alacrity, lay before you the whole circumstances, that the case

requires, which I am sure will be of a beneficial service to tradesmen and others, that have a desire of pushing their fortunes in the flourishing plantations in *America*, which God hath blessed with every thing suitable to the natural subsistence of mankind.

But as you are so blindly, and falsely informed, by those who would make your ignorance their gain, telling you many things that never will come to pass. I will inform you of such things as will be to your advantage, which I can well testify for truth. Hearken not to any that want to make you believe, that you can live in that country without work; for every man must endeavour for his living there, as well as here; but an industrious person may soon and easily obtain riches, on the account he receives such a great reward for his labour.

This, with many other instances compared together, will be sufficient to maintain my argument, as well as to make my antagonists ashamed of their behaviour to me; in consequence whereof, I remember when in confinement at *Aberdeen* in my infancy, with several other of my unhappy companions, as incapable to know their destination, as I myself, only the word passed among us by our keepers, that we were going to a country where we should be maintained like gentlemen; and ride in our coaches, with several negroes to attend us; besides we should enjoy some thousands of acres of land as our own; and in a short time be able to come home to see our friends, with great grandeur. Those false and artful insinuations diverted our fancies with the pleasing hopes of obtaining these promises; and being but a parcel of infants, loosed our thoughts from our relations, expecting the things that never were designed for us.

The good intentions of their humanity to us, I shall hereafter describe, for the benefit of the public, as being
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matter of incontestable truth, by the strongest proofs any proposition can possibly admit of; and as I think we are all sensible alike, that the deceitfulness of some men are longer of being manifested to the eye of the world than others, although their erroneous principles are determined to abstract from their neighbour's prosperity, to maintain their own pride.

These reasons, I say, will induce me to give you some further account of the merchant's behaviour to us when landed in *America*, in order that my countrymen may avoid the like circumstances for the future; all the concern they had to fulfil their promises, was only till such times they had got the quickest opportunity to dispose of us to the planters, some of which, would buy ten, some twenty; and drive us through the country, like a parcel of sheep to the slaughter, exposing of us for sale, in all public fairs and markets, as brute beasts. Thus treated, and abused by our own neighbours, by what reason can we expect better usage from these our new masters. But luckily as it happen'd for me, I fell into the hands of my own countryman, who used me in a tender manner, contrary to many others, to one in my condition. In this place, there is no thanks due to Kidnappers, for if the devil came in the shape of a man to them, with money in his hands, it would be accepted, as well as of the honestest man in the world; for their consciences might equally the same allow them to commit murder on the high road, to maintain their grandeur, as to be guilty of cajoling children from their parents, who doubtless would cause their troubled father and mother to accomplish their sorrow within the grave many years sooner than probably they would have done, because of the anguish and grief, they must naturally have for the loss of their children, which may very properly be termed, Murder concealed; when after so many fair and deceitful delusions, the children sent off and sold, sometimes to cruel masters,

whose ill treatment, obliges them oftentimes to elope, to avoid slavery, and as there is no probability of making their escape, as they are always taken and brought back, and for every day they are away from their master, they serve a week, and for every week a month, and for every month a year. Besides obliged to pay all costs and charges that is advertised for apprehending them, which will commonly bring him in a slave for four or five years longer at least. This dreadful arbitrary controul, often occasions the unhappy victims, to put an end to their own miserable lives, which instances of the kind has many times covered the earth with only the melancholy spectacle of a deluded soul, who has suffered in a manner the most deplorably cruel that human malice could invent. In the next place, the planters are of an idle disposition, not caring to fatigue themselves with much hard work. But as soon as they can raise 20 or 30l. they will buy servants from the *European* merchants, these they will make slaves for four or five years, and some for seven years, in which they are put to the woods, and obliged to perform such a quantity of work every day, or else they are severely punished by their masters, who review their labour at night.

The servant, whatsoever wrong is imposed upon him, dare not vindicate himself for fear of offending his master, whose evil temper must always be humoured, else there is nothing to be had of him but strokes and blows. This is commonly the practice throughout the different governments in *America*, and especially in *Maryland*, where our merchants here, that follow that execrable branch of business, would much rather supply that place, than any other province on the continent, because they barter for tobacco, and in that commodity they get great profit, in transporting of it to *England*, where they will make about 50 *per centum*, as the price of it there, is

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not exceeding one penny *per* pound, to those that agree for large quantities.

In the next place, you will find *Maryland* inhabited mostly by convicts, that have been banished from their native country for misdemeanors, some of whom become very expert in trading with tobacco, and oftentimes are able to contract with their correspondents in *Europe*, to send them over men, women and children, which are very useful to labour amongst this article that the country mostly produces. But the fallacious promises of your undertakers here, are so pernicious to the good of those whom they deceive, that it often, as I said before, proves their utter destruction; for ignorant people when they indent themselves for four or five years to serve in the plantations, imagine they will have great wages, to be paid to them every year, as it is in their own country. I make no question but there is policy enough used to induce you to believe so, but there is no such intertainment in any part of *America*, for you must serve your indented time, agreeable to the laws of the country, without having any thing allowed you, but according to the discretion of your masters; which you may depend will be no more than cloaths insufficient to cover your nakedness.

Besides, you that indent yourselves in the aforesaid manner, labour under a great disadvantage, for the country is of opinion, that when men or women, are come to the years of maturity, they will not transport themselves as slaves for any number of years, unless they be guilty of some wicked crime or other; for they are looked upon, to be in the same roll with convicts, who indent themselves in the same manner as you, in order to prevent discovering their roguery.

The country have been so much imposed upon by the last mentioned, that honest people have suffered considerably, both in person and estate, by allowing these
villains,

villains, to be evidences for themselves and against others; but a stop has been put to this some time ago, that none of them who come over in the indented way, will be allowed this privilege, either for themselves, or against their neighbours, without they have along with them a legal certificate from the place of their nativity, signed and attested by proper authority there; signifying that he, or they, came of honest parents, and that it was not for any dishonest thing they left them; this being approved of and recorded in the court of justice, the persons oath will then be deemed lawful; but you often neglect this material point, hearkening to your false prophets, who would deceive the very elect, if possible, to gain their own ends; making you believe, the place of your destination flows with milk and honey; all this I will allow may be had in *America* in great plenty, with an honest endeavour; but first, You will find, that out of the sweet will come forth bitter. Instead of receiving what was promised to you here, as soon as you arrive there, you will be sold for four years, or, if under age, for seven years, to any planter that will purchase you from the merchants, who will put you to hard work, without being allowed to leave your master's premises, during your indented time, without his order in writing; or else you will be taken up as a deserter, and punished according to the custom of the country. All this trouble you bring on yourselves for only the single passage over, which favour you might readily obtain of any captain for about three pounds, or sometimes less, and then you will be your own masters, and need not be controled by any. Besides, you are looked upon as gentlemen, and may follow all lawful employments whatsoever, which you are always sure of meeting with on your arrival in *America*, where you will find a great deal of odds between an indented servant and a free man, in so much, that an industrious person may, in
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four years time clear 200*l.* sterling. Likewise, the laws in the plantations are very severe against indented servants, first occasioned by the many convicts sent from *Great Britain*, &c. Which was rightly judged, that such felonious persons should be bound to slavery for a certain number of years, and the laws of the country made suitable to their actions, or else in a little time there would have been no living for honest people. The profit of this practice has been so well experienced by some at home, that men, women and children have been led into captivity, without apprehending the consequence thereof, equally the same as the others before-mentioned, on pretence of giving them great reward.

From what I have already said, you may have a true idea of the design of indented servants, although there might have been much more enlarged on the subject; but as time and place will not permit, I shall beg leave from relating any thing further on the affair, but only observing the present opportunity that young men have to push their fortunes, by going to *America* in an honourable way, both to their own advantage, and for the good of their king and country; and as the *British* troops are now in a fair way of subduing our enemies in that part of the world, which I hope, with good conduct, the next campaign, to see a compleat conquest over *French Canada*. It being a fine and plentiful settlement, pleasantly situated on the river of *St. Laurence*, where there is land enough cleared, to subsist near twenty thousand families, if properly cultivated; and every one that now lists in the *Highland* regiments, is all most sure of making their fortunes, besides, great respect is shown to soldiers there, the country finding them provisions *gratis*, and likewise their pay running on, which they receive every month, and some regiments are paid once a week.

In short, your encouragement is of such a beneficial nature,

nature, that you absolutely stand in your own light to refuse it; for a soldier will save more in one year in *America*, than he can in *Britain* for seven; and at this present critical juncture of time, you will be of great service to your king and country, the very thoughts of a *Highland* regiment, will do more execution amongst the savages, than five thousand other troops, because of their new way of *scalping*, that is, cutting off their heads at one blow with the broad sword; for the natives think when their heads are gone, they will not be able to rise at the resurrection of the dead.

Although they have but a very faint idea of a Deity, yet they are very superstitious, in their way, for when they bury the dead, they take all the care imaginable to preserve their heads above the earth.

Likewise, if wounded in the field of battle, would much rather die in their wounds, than suffer their limbs to be cut from their bodies: The reason assigned for this, cannot be rightly distinguished by any, for they are very cautious of discovering their mind to White people; but it is certain, that they believe in a future being, and that after death they will go to this Good Man, whom they now think lives beyond the *Western Mountains*, ready to receive them, when they depart this life, if in case they are not any wise disabled; and bring along with them their instruments of war; which is the usual custom of the *Indians* to put their *tomahawk* and gun, in the grave with the dead, in order to fight for this Good Man, when they rise again, in opposition to evil spirits. But the dreadful apprehensions of the *Highlanders* fills them with such a panick fear of cutting off their heads, which they think will for ever deprive them of being of service to their Good Master, whom they are in expectation of seeing, when departed from their friends here; by this it evidently appears, that they believe in a divine Being, but, for want of the knowlege of Christ, they

they suppose that they will inhabit a future state with the same body, under the same inconveniencies and defects they now have on earth.

Although some part of *America* is inhabited by savages, yet that need not give you any trouble in going there to serve your king and country, for there is ten that call themselves Christians to one of the natives, and if the *French* were but conquered in these parts of the globe, the *Indians* would never molest you, which is now easily in our power to subdue *Canada* before *August*, 1759.

As *Lewisburg* is in our possession, the key of their country, proper plans might soon be concluded, upon to invade *Canada* early in the spring, and without doubt make ourselves masters of it.

First, To divide our forces into three divisions, in order to separate the enemy; then proceed in action, in the manner following; For ten men of war, with as many thousand troops to embark at *Cape-Breton* about the latter end of *April*, with all necessary implements for carrying on a siege against *Quebec*, one of the principal towns the *French* have in *America*, and is now lying open to our armed ships; which, if they arrive in the river of *St. Laurence*, early in the spring with the fore-said forces, they will undoubted alarm the enemy, and oblige *Monsieur de Montcalm* to attend with all his army to watch our motions in landing the troops in their territories, this expedition ought to be carried on with a precautions concern; yet, at the same time giving the enemy an expectation of a daily approach, when, on the other hand they are procuring for themselves a longer delay, in order for the better advantage of the two divisions before-mentioned: for, if the fleet, give proper alarms to the enemy, it will bring the major part of their forces from *Crown-point*, neither would it be necessary to land the troops for a considerable time, except we are

sure of keeping the field, and if you are obliged to retreat, there is not much danger, because you may be protected under the fire of the ships.

Secondly, The second division at *Albany*, consisting of ten thousand men, for carrying this plan into execution, ought to be on their march for *Crown-point* about the tenth of *April*, and by taking of this fort we have a fine and open communication from thence to the heart of *Canada*, which in three days time the whole army may march to *Montreal*, or in six to *Quebec*.

Thirdly, The third division, consisting of ten thousand men, should be on their march about the same time with the second division, for fort *Frontenac*, that lies North of *Oswego*, on the head of St. *Laurence*; by taking this garrison, it cuts off the communication of the *French* from the *Ohio*, as well as retaking all our vessels lost at *Oswego*; then, on the surrendering of the place, which will in consequence fall into our hands, if we only go and demand it; from thence our troops may proceed to *Montreal* with a great deal of ease, down the river of St. *Laurence* in the batteaux, where they may arrive in about four days.

But I must in this place observe to you, that there is a small fort on the same river in your way, about sixty miles below *Frontenac*, it is made of stoccades with four block-houses, one in each corner, mounted with a few small swivel guns: there is also on the North-east side of it, two large barracks, that by computation may hold about five hundred men each; but the fortification appeared to me of so little strength, that I think it will give you no resistance; it being only a magazine and store-house for the *French* troops on their road to the *Ohio*: from thence there is nothing else to disturb you, till arrived at *Montreal*; this town is surrounded with a stone wall, about three feet thick, and in the middle of the city there is a piece of rising ground, whereon is a
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fortification, with eight six pounders in it. The town seems to be of no condition to stand a siege, against any such number of forces before-mentioned, so that it must in a few days, fall into our hands.

Likewise, in the mean time, if there were success obtained at *Crown-point*, the most of that army might march into *Canada*, and join the troops at *Montreal*, or when the fort is regularly besieged, five thousand men is sufficient to keep them in action, when the others might be separated, if occasion required them at *Quebec*, which you may depend, that the timely arrival of our fleet, in the river of *St. Laurence*, would oblige all the *French* regulars to abide there.

To let you know, this is one of the strongest fortified places in *Canada*, and will, no doubt, make great resistance against its enemies. It is also surrounded on the land side, by a strong stone wall, between 20 and 30 foot high, and by computation near as broad, with places on the ramparts to mount about an hundred cannon; all of which were making ready with the greatest expedition, to be fixed, when I left the country. The most part of the town is undermined; but the only best and easiest way to besiege it, is, to erect a fortification on the upside of the river, and demolish their water battery, which will then give our men of war an opportunity of coming up along the side of the wharf, as all the heavy artillery and strength of the place lies on the South-side of the town, their principal magazine is on an eminence of ground, to the South-east side of the city, about two hundred yards distance from the walls; which is strongly fortified on every side, as well as having a communication under ground, from thence to the middle of the citadel; but I further observed, that it had little or no command on the shipping. With such like plans, and regular discipline observed, the most part of the three divisions might besiege it in form and, in a short time

make themselves masters of it, which would intirely put an end to the war in *America*, and the *British* soldiers be handsomely rewarded for their labour, with the lands and tenements of the enemy, as none have more right for the possession, than those that venture their lives to purchase it; and those who go in the *Highland* regiments, are sure of making their fortunes, perhaps, without ever drawing their swords, for, if we continue a war about two years longer, *Canada* will in course fall into our hands, as it can in no wise maintain itself, and the troops that are now in it, without the assistance of *Old-France*, our naval force being far superior to theirs. By keeping a fleet in the river of *St. Laurence*, and another in the *Mississippi* river, which will intirely cut off the communication of the enemy from having any connection in *North-America*.

But as the size of this short history will not permit me to enlarge any farther, I therefore shall conclude with the detail of my own affairs at *Aberdeen*, the 24th of *June*, 1758.

The True State of the Case between the Author, and the Merchants of Aberdeen, in relation to the 2d, 3d and 4th pages of this Book.

With a view of showing, that the strength and riches of *Great-Britain*, are closely connected with the flourishing state of our colonies abroad, I published this treatise, containing, A plain narrative of the savage conduct of our foes in that quarter of the globe, describing what I felt, and what I was an eye-witness of; but neither the strange vicissitudes of my own fortune, chequer'd with uncommon calamities, nor the good intention of my performance, could protect me from the resentment of the *Dean of Guild*, and some merchants of

of *Aberdeen*, near the place of my nativity, where I was gone in quest of my relations: Because in the introduction of my little work, I had told, how at eight years of age I was seized when amusing myself on the key of that sea-port town, hurried on ship-board, and sold for a slave. Hard fate to suffer this! Harder still to be prosecuted for telling the interesting tale! I said such was for some year's the practice of the traders there; be that as it will, I named none, I am sure of my own misfortunes, and that of several other unhappy boys, unwarrantably carried off in the same ship, and with myself left to perish, when the ship struck aground on the coast of *America*. I am not skilful enough to say, whether it was an infringement of the liberty of the press, to imprison me for publishing what I had so much reason to believe; but must lament that the dread of confinement (before I had found out any of my friends, and after upwards of 350 of my books, the only immediate means of my support, were seiz'd) should induce me to sign a paper presented to me (disclaiming 2 or 3 pages of my book) which has been since carefully inserted in the *Aberdeen Journal*: And it is submitted to the judgment of every impartial person, whether or no the thoughts of being detained prisoner, without the benefit of bail, by such a powerful party as I had to deal with at *Aberdeen*, might not be the sole motive for signing any paper they tender'd to me, in order to procure my enlargement, especially as I had not then made out my kindred, nor could consequently prove the identity of my person.

That the paper or letter said to be given to them was a piece of their own making, is manifest; for admitting (though altogether denying, that I ever gave in any such paper) it is absurd to imagine that I would have desired the same to be published at *York*, where my books were printed: No, any unprejudiced man can easily see that
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the same was only the production of their ill-will, and calculated to wipe off the reproach I had so justly branded them with. However, as soon as I had my liberty, I went in quest of my relations, found some of them in the same county, and got the attestations of some, and the affidavit of others, proving I was the person, and had been taken away as represented in the 2d, 3d, and 4th pages of my work, before one of his majesty's chief justices of the peace, for the county of *Aberdeen*, who certifies the truth thereof in manner under-written.

But in this place, I must recount, that my intention is not to impute this scandalous practice call'd *Kidnapping*, to the charge of the whole town of *Aberdeen*; but to such persons as have actually been guilty of it, and those that are now concerned in prosecuting me, for intimating I was stolen from that town; and as I can make it appear, that I was taken away, when not in the capacity to go of myself, (to the contrary) if any in the city of *Aberdeen*, think themselves injured by me laying *Kidnapping* to their charge, let them, or any of them, make it appear, that my parents sold me, or that I went off by the consent of any of my relations, (if so) I shall make them all the satisfaction I am able; but if such a thing was possible for my kindred to dispose of me to the merchants, certainly my adversaries would have had it on record, and publish'd it against me before this time, which if they do not prove, one should think, I ought to have restitution for my books and money they unlawfully took from me; and was determined to use me worse than did the very savages themselves, had it not been for the goodness of Sir *Archd. Grant* baronet, who examined proper witnesses sufficient to maintain the truth of my being carried off from *Aberdeen*, as represented by me.

The following is the Attestation, vindicating the Truth of PETER WILLIAMSON, the Author, his being carried off from Aberdeen; taken before Sir ARCHIBALD GRANT, of Monymusk, Bart. Justice of the Peace, after he was released from Prison.

At Monymusk-house, in the County of Aberdeen, July 3. 1758.

COMPEARED before me, Sir *Archibald Grant* of *Monymusk*, Bart. one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, *Peter Williamson*, late of the province of *Pensylvania*, in *America*, and some time a soldier in the king's service there, and last in the king royal regiment of *Scots*; from which he was discharged, as appears by his discharge from general Sir *James Sinclair*, under his hand and seal, which he produced to me, for verification thereof: And represented, that whereas some malicious persons had threatened to disturb him as a vagrant, alledging that he was not a native of this country, nor had any relations, or connections in it; which might prove inconvenient to him, whilst he remained with his friends in this country; as also in other countries, where his business might require him to go; he intending to return to *England*, to prepare for, and get his passage back to *Pensylvania*, where he has the property of some land; from which he was taken by the *Indians* in 1754: And therefore desired that he might have a certificate from a justice of the peace, of the place of his nativity, being descended of honest parents, upon his producing proper evidences thereof, and that he was reputed a man against whom there was no legal objections.

For the verification of the above, besides the discharge from general *Sinclair* above-mentioned, he produced a certificate from the Rev. *William Forsyth*, minister of the parish of *Aboyne*, in this county, narrating the time of his birth, extracted from that parish register, and of his being descended of honest parents, then residing there; his father being then a farmer in that parish: And also delivered me a letter, directed to me, from *Robert Chalmers* of *Balnaraige*, Esq; and likewise another letter to me, from *Francis Frazer* of *Findrack*, Esq; who are gentlemen of estates in this county; and both of them attesting, that he was son of *James Williamson*, mentioned in the Rev. minister of *Aboyne*'s attestation; and that two of his brothers had been in their services, who had behaved themselves unexceptionably; one of them is now in colonel *Montgomery*'s Highland regiment, now in *America*; and the other still living in the estate of *Findrack*: And that they know, or were well informed, of *Peter* having several other relations, of good character, in the country, all of them owned him as their relation: And as one, of whom they never heard any thing blameable; and that they were also well informed, that *Peter*, when about eight years of age, was carried, or

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went off to *America*, and had since obtained a settlement in *Pennsylvania*. And he further produced before me, *John Wilson*, in the parish of *Lumphanan*, and *Alexander Williamson*, in the parish of *Kincardin*, both in this county, who made affidavit, that they knew *Peter*, and his parents, as above-mentioned; and that about 18 years ago he left the country, to go to *Aberdeen* to a cousin; and that they knew him to be the same person upon his return now. Wherefore I do hereby certify the truth of all the above. Witness my hand and seal, time and place above-mentioned.

Signed by.

ARCH. GRANT, J. P.

ROB. YOUNG, Clerk.

Balnacraig (Shire of Aberdeen,) July 1st, 1758.

Whereas, *Peter Williamson* son to *James Williamson* of *Hirnley*, in the parish of *Aboyne*, who left this country when very young; and it is my opinion, and of several other gentlemen, and creditable people in this country, who know his relations to be honest and industrious people, his brother *Joseph*, who is now a soldier in the *Highland* regiment abroad, served me honestly two years, and I do believe his narration of being kidnapped, to be true, as his father and mother died when he was young, leaving a numerous family to providence. I am informed, that there had been a base practice made use of, by taking away young boys who were not well taken care of, and selling them for slaves, much about the time the bearer takes notice of concerning himself. He has underwent very great hardships, and no doubt will find good usage and encouragement from all well-meaning people, for his future settlement.

To all concerned.

ROBERT CHALMERS. Bart.

These do certify and declare, that the bearer hereof, *Peter Williamson*, lawful son to *James Williamson* in *Hirnley*, in the parish of *Aboyne*, and county of *Aberdeen*, *North-Britain*, is a native of said parish, and descended of very honest and reputable parents, who resided in the parish of *Aboyne* for many years: That in the year 1740, when a young boy, of betwixt eight and ten years of age, he left this place, with a fair character, and of a promising disposition; and that there was no reason known then to us, why he might not have met with all proper encouragement, and be admitted into any Christian society, where God in his providence ordered his lot. Given at *Manse of Aboyne*, this 28 day of *June*, 1758 years, and in name, and by appointment of the kirk-session of the united parishes of *Aboyne* and *Glentanner*, is attested and subscribed, by

WILL. FORSYTH, Minr.

ROB. CROMAR and WILL. CHAPMAN, Elders.

F I N I S.

